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David Dale Owen and the First Geological Survey

BY WALTER B. HENDRICKSON

On September 17, 1839, a steamboat landed at the little town of Rockingham, Iowa, and its passengers disembarked. They were the personnel of the most spectacular of the many geological surveys and explorations carried out by the United States government in the Western lands. The leader of these more than one hundred men who made camp on the bank of the Mississippi River that September day was Doctor David Dale Owen, a young physician, geologist, and scientist.

Owen, Scotch-Welsh in ancestry, had lived his youthful years in Scotland and Switzerland. The third son of the great British socialist and philanthropist, Robert Owen, he had enjoyed an excellent European scientific education.¹ When Dale was twenty-one years old, hoping to become an industrial chemist, he came to America to join his father in New Harmony, Indiana. This little town on the Wabash River was the site chosen by Robert Owen for inaugurating an experiment in communal living. He planned to have a self-supporting agricultural and industrial community. But Robert Owen was a dreamer and not a doer. Young Dale Owen found himself without employment when the community failed in 1828 and the members left to seek greater economic advantages in the booming West. After a period of indecision about his life's work, Owen finally returned to his first love, science, and after a year at London University and two years at the Medical College of Ohio, he secured an appointment as the first state geologist of Indiana in 1837.²

Doctor Owen was thus one of the pioneers in the investigation of the natural resources of the Middle West, and

¹David Dale Owen was born in New Lanark, Scotland, on June 23, 1807. His mother was Caroline Dale, the daughter of David Dale, a Scotch cotton mill owner.

²See Walter B. Hendrickson, "David Dale Owen, Pioneer Geologist of the Middle West," Ph. D. Thesis (Ms), 1941, in Harvard College Library; also Walter B. Hendrickson, "David Dale Owen and Indiana's First Geological Survey," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXVI (1940), 1-15.

he made a thoroughly competent and even brilliant exposition of the minerals and soils of his native state. On the strength of his good work, and probably through the influence of his brother, Robert Dale Owen, a leader in the Indiana Democratic party, the young geologist was appointed "Principal Agent to Explore the Mineral Lands of the United States" on July 31, 1839, by James Whitcomb, also of Indiana, then Commissioner of the United States Land Office.³

Back of this appointment was a long story concerning the administration of the public lands of the United States. It began in 1785 with the Land Ordinance for the Old Northwest Territory, passed by the Congress of the Confederation. In addition to the marvelously efficient system of rectangular survey by which the public domain was divided into congressional townships and sections, the Land Ordinance of 1785 contained other important clauses, including one which reserved to the United States government one-third of all the gold, silver, copper, and lead that might be mined.⁴ In 1807, by a congressional act applying to Indiana Territory and all future territories to be created in the West, the principle of reserving mineral riches for special disposition was again recognized. All areas containing lead ore or saline deposits were reserved from the general land sale and leased for mining purposes.⁵

Exploitation of the area west of the Mississippi, however, proceeded slowly and no mineral lands were leased

³"Report of a Geological Exploration of Part of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois, Made under Instructions from the Treasurer of the United States, in the Autumn of the Year 1839, by David Dale Owen, M.D., Principal Agent to explore the Mineral Lands of the United States," *Executive Document*, 26 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 239 (June 6, 1840), 11. Cited hereafter as *I. W. I. Report*. This report was also printed as *Senate Document*, 28 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 407 (June 11, 1844), and will be cited as *I. W. I. Report*, 1844.

James Whitcomb was a citizen of Indiana, a state senator, and governor of the state, 1843-1845. He served as Commissioner of the Land Office 1836-1841. Because Robert aided David in securing the appointment as State Geologist of Indiana, and later (1847), secured another federal appointment for him, it is presumed that Robert had a hand in the appointment of 1839. Robert Dale Owen was a Democratic member of the Indiana State Legislature, 1836-1839, and a member of Congress, 1844-1848. See Richard W. Leopold, *Robert Dale Owen, A Biography* (Cambridge, 1940).

⁴This was an extension of the practice of sovereign nations developed during the colonization period whereby the crown was considered the owner of all or part of the mineral wealth on land granted to private persons. See United States Public Land Commission, *The Public Domain* (Washington, D. C., 1844), 306.

⁵*United States Statutes at Large*, II, 449; James F. Gallbreath, "Government Control of the Minerals on the Public Lands," *Senate Document*, 64 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 430 (1916), 4.

until 1822 and it was not until 1826 that any extensive lead mining began.⁶ The richest ore fields were found in the neighborhood of Galena, Illinois; Dubuque, Iowa; and Mineral Point, Wisconsin. Here the mining of lead ore was the principal occupation of the settlers and in the 1820's all of these communities but Dubuque, then still Indian territory, were bustling little boom towns.⁷

Until 1823 the supervision of the lead lands had been in the hands of the Land Office, but in that year the Ordnance Office of the War Department assumed control and an army officer was sent to the Northwest as "Superintendent of the Lead Mines."⁸ This officer was empowered to lease mining land under the statute of 1807. For a time he enforced the law without difficulty. Most of the mine operators were working small areas, and they supported the authority of the Ordnance officer because he protected them from the large operators who would rather have seen the land offered for sale.⁹

There were two problems involved in the administration of the reserved land. The task of executing the leases and collecting the rents was entrusted to the Ordnance officer; but the actual determination of areas containing lead ore was left in the hands of the surveyors employed by the Land Office. These men were expected to discover and define mineral lands at the same time that they were running lines for the rectangular survey.¹⁰ The land surveyors, of course, were not competent to perform a mineral survey and as a result ore bearing areas were

⁶"Reports Relative to the Lead Mines and Salt Springs," *Senate Document*, 19 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 38 (1826), 10; George P. Merrill, *The First One Hundred Years of American Geology* (New Haven, 1926), 196; William J. Johnston, "Sketches of the History of Stephenson County, Ill.," Illinois State Historical Library, *Publication No. 30* (1923), 239-244; Willard R. Jillson, "Early Mineral Exploration in the Mississippi Valley," Illinois State Historical Library, *Publication No. 31* (1924), 45-49; Benjamin J. Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies* (New York, 1924), 513.

⁷Moses Meeker, "Early History of the Lead Regions of Wisconsin," Wisconsin State Historical Society, *Collection*, VI (1872), 271-296; Joseph Schafer, *The Wisconsin Lead Region (Wisconsin Domesday Book, General Studies, III)*, Madison, 1932, *passim*; James Shaw, "Geology of Jo Daviess County," A. H. Worthen, *Economical Geology of Illinois* (Springfield, 1882), III, 37-53; Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* (New York, 1903), 109-114; "Letter . . . in Relation to Leases of Lead Mines Salt Springs," *Senate Document*, 19 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 45 (Feb. 22, 1826), 16-19.

⁸"Reports Relative to Lead Mines and Salt Springs," *Senate Document*, 19 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 45 (1826), 16-19.

⁹"Letter . . . in Relation to Leases of Lead Mines and Salt Springs," *Senate Document*, 19 Cong., 1 Sess. (1826), 18-19.

¹⁰"Reports Relative to the Lead Mines and Salt Springs," *Senate Document*, 19 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 38 (1826), 9.

quite inaccurately designated. There was much confusion and misunderstanding as to just which land should be reserved for leasing.¹¹ In spite of this potential cause for trouble the Ordnance officer experienced little difficulty in the supervision of the lead mines and rents were readily collected. So long as the residents of the region were interested only in lead land of sufficient richness to justify mining the inexactitude of the differentiation caused no trouble.¹²

For a time matters ran along with little friction. The Black Hawk Indian War of 1832 caused an exodus of miners and lead production was temporarily reduced. But Black Hawk and his warriors were soon defeated, and on September 21, 1832, the Sauk, Fox, and Winnebago Indians were forced to agree to a treaty whereby they ceded a large area in Iowa and lower Wisconsin to the government which was to be open for white settlement on and after June 1, 1833. The Indian land cession was the signal for a great influx of settlers looking for farm land. Colonel George Bomford, the chief of the Ordnance Office, could see trouble ahead. Farmers were going to insist that marginal lead land should be sold for agricultural use. The lead miners were going to ask that all land containing ore of any quality should be held for leasing. Further, large mine operators would have preferred buying up extensive tracts of land to leasing the much smaller units. So it was, then, that Colonel Bomford, in his annual report urged upon Congress the necessity of amending the law of 1807 to permit the sale of mineral land and the discontinuance of the leasing policy.¹³

The Colonel's apprehension of trouble was realized in 1835 when the miners of Illinois refused to pay the Superintendent of the Lead Mines the rent for their leases, claiming that the law did not provide for the method of rent collection that was being used, and also that it was unconstitutional for the United States government to

¹¹"Report of the Ordnance Department," *Senate Document*, 22 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 2 (1832), 138-139.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³"Report of the Ordnance Officer," *Senate Document*, 23 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1 (1833), 162.

collect rent for any land within the boundaries of any state. The superintendent instituted suits to collect, hoping that a court decision would clarify the situation. Colonel Bomford, nevertheless, in a gloomy I-told-you-so report again recommended that the best way to settle all difficulties was to stop leasing and open all the reserved land to public sale.¹⁴

The situation in the Northwest was further complicated by three-way friction among the miners, farmers, and the local land office officials. In 1834, when the Mineral Point Land District agent began public sale, the Commissioner of the Land Office had ruled that any land could be sold if the purchaser would take an oath that there were no mineral ores in the tract he proposed to buy. In practice this proved to be very unsatisfactory because the agent had no means of being certain that the buyer was not making a false affirmation, since the only knowledge of just which sections contained lead ore came from the reports of the land surveyors.¹⁵ Consequently some of the land sold for farming actually contained lead ore. Numerous false oaths were given, too, and much ore-bearing land passed into the hands of the large mining operators, much to the indignation of the miners who had been paying rent to the government for years.¹⁶ It was charged that the local land agent was in collusion with those who were trying to defraud the government, but an investigation by the United States district attorney exonerated the agent and showed that he simply had no reliable information upon which to decide whether land should be sold or reserved.¹⁷

So involved had the situation become that the whole mining district seethed with dissatisfaction and unrest, and local officials were unable to work their way out of

¹⁴"Report of the Ordnance Department," *Senate Document*, 24 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1 (1835), 235.

¹⁵"Report of the Secretary of the Treasury in Compliance with the Resolution of the Senate . . . in Relation to the Settlement of the Mining Country . . .," *Senate Document*, 25 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 411 (1835), 5-8.

¹⁶"Report of the Secretary of War, in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate . . . in Relation to the Sale of Mineral Lands . . .," *Senate Document*, 25 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 93 (1835), 4ff.

¹⁷"Report of the Secretary of the Treasury upon the Petition of the Inhabitants of Wisconsin [sic] Mining District, Praying for a Redress of Grievances," *Senate Document* 26 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 13 (1839); see also Joseph Schafer, *op. cit.*, 110-122.

the muddle. The miners petitioned Congress for relief, and the House committee on public lands reported that the facts stated by the petitioners were "generally established," and that "the rights and interests of the United States, as well as of individual citizens, in the lead-mines of the government, have become greatly jeopardized."¹⁸

As a result, Congress took steps to remove one of the causes of the grievances. A resolution of the House of Representatives, passed February 6, 1839¹⁹ commanded the President

to cause to be prepared, and presented to the next Congress, at an early day, a plan for the sale of the public mineral lands, having reference as well to the amount of revenue to be derived from them, and their value as public property, as to the equitable claims of individuals upon them; and that he at the same time communicate to Congress information in the possession of the Treasury Department relative to their location, value, productiveness, and occupancy; and that he cause further information to be collected, and surveys to be made, as may be necessary for these purposes.

President Van Buren sent the resolution to the Secretary of the Treasury who referred it to Commissioner Whitcomb of the Land Office.²⁰ Whitcomb found no information in his files except the surveyors' untrustworthy reports. In his perplexity he availed himself of the congressional permission to collect "further information."²¹ Among those to whom the Commissioner turned for assistance in securing help in preparing such a plan asked for by Congress were the registers of the local Land Office districts. These were asked to consult the miners and to invite from them suggestions for the disposal of the government's mineral lands.²² But in the meantime, the precise location of mineral deposits in these western lands had to be determined or all was of no avail.

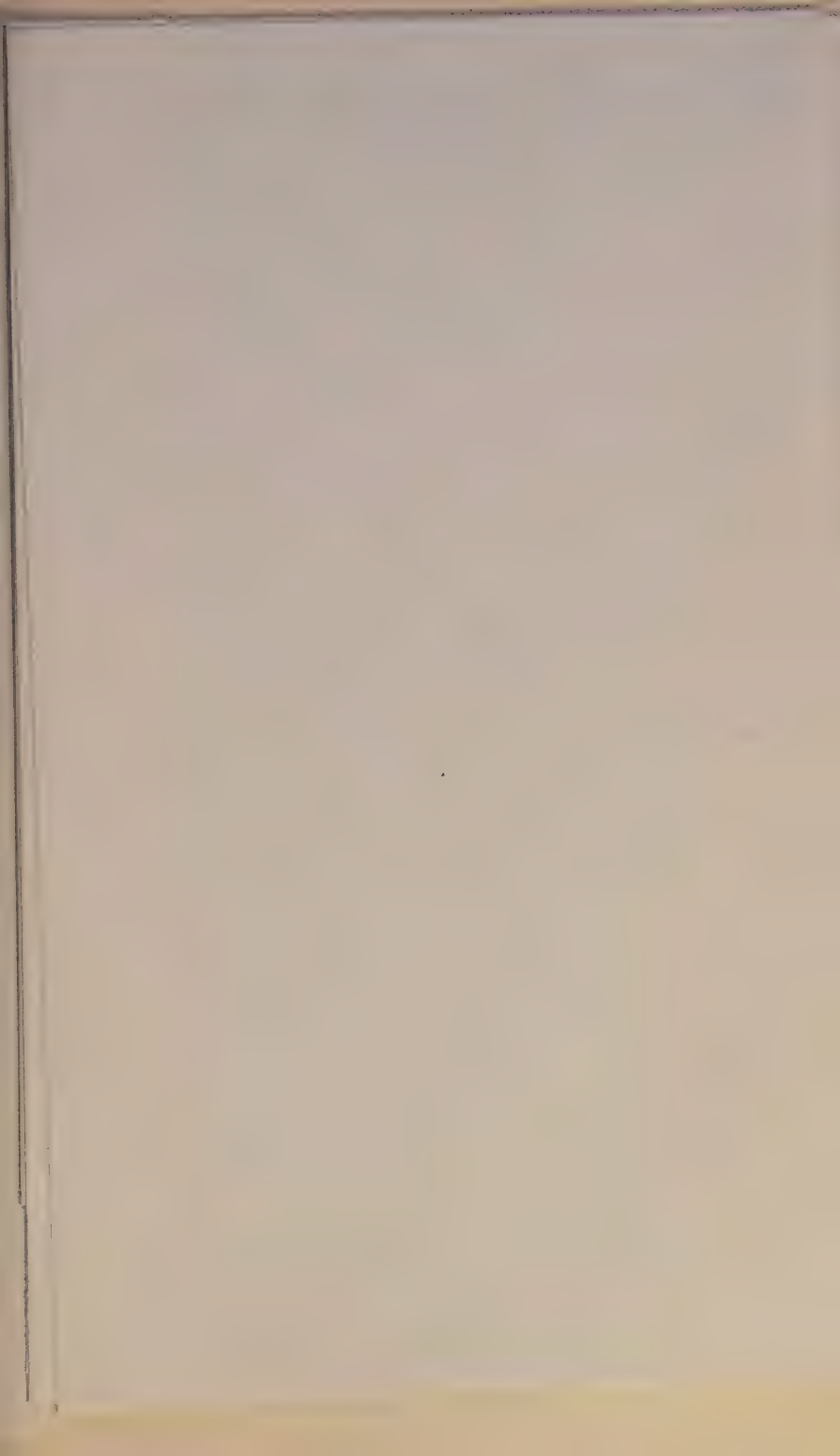
¹⁸*Committee Reports*, 26 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1 (1839), 1, 4.

¹⁹House Journal, 25 Cong., 3 Sess., Feb. 6, 1839.

²⁰Levi Woodbury, Sec. of the Treas., to Martin Van Buren, President of the United States, June 4, 1840, *I. W. I. Report*, 2.

²¹James Whitcomb to Levi Woodbury, June 3, 1840, *I. W. I. Report*, 2.

²²A mass meeting of miners was held at Dubuque Saturday, Sept 14, and again Sept. 21. A set of resolutions and a proposed bill to grant miners the equivalent of pre-emption rights were adopted and forwarded to Washington. See *Iowa News* (Dubuque), Sept. 28, 1839.





Thus it was that David Dale Owen was appointed "Principal Agent to Explore the Mineral Lands." The appointment reached him at his home in New Harmony on August 17, 1839, accompanied by instructions for the guidance of the geologist. These were quite detailed and explicit. The Hoosier scientist was to survey the Mineral Point, Galena, and Dubuque Land Districts and investigate "every description of mineral deposit calculated to impart so much value to the land as to justify the expense [of the survey], and which could be completed by winter." Owen was to hire agents and sub-agents, proceed to the south end of the Dubuque district and go north. Since it was desired that all lands not showing evidence of "lead, minerals, or salines, and not otherwise reserved, be brought into market at the earliest [time] practicable in the fall," he was to send in reports of the value and productiveness of the land, as soon as the examination of ten to fifteen townships was completed. He was to "take every opportunity to undeceive settlers" who might think he threatened their "supposed rights," because their co-operation would be helpful, and they could give much useful information. Because of the "delicate duties" and great trust imposed upon them, he was to select sub-agents and assistants of good moral character "not directly interested in the mineral lands."²³

The youthful geologist pondered over these instructions. He was being asked to perform the well-nigh impossible! The territory to be surveyed comprised an area of 11,000 square miles. Barely two months remained before the onset of winter.²⁴ The country to be surveyed was wild and sparsely settled, and travel and transportation of supplies would be difficult.²⁵ Yet, a careful weighing of all factors involved convinced Owen that the task could be done. Systematic organization and an adequate and well-trained working force would ensure the completion of

²³James Whitcomb to D. D. Owen, July 31, 1839, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Division of Mails and Files, General Land Office, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C., Shelf No. 76 (Cited hereafter as L. O. Misc. Corr.)

²⁴D. D. Owen to James Whitcomb, Rockingham, Iowa, September 10, 1839, Register of Letters Received, Division of Mails and Files, General Land Office, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C., Shelf No. 91 (Cited hereafter as L. O. Reg. Let. Recd.)

²⁵*I. W. I. Report, 1844.*

the survey in the time allowed, but at an expenditure greater than the Land Office anticipated.²⁶ Owen interpreted his instructions to mean that results were desired regardless of expense. The Secretary of the Treasury did question the estimate that Owen submitted to Whitcomb,²⁷ but by the time that any steps could be taken to halt Owen's plans, the geologist was in the field and had completed part of the work. The Commissioner, harassed by the problems of the mineral lands, gave Owen loyal support, and pointed out that if the survey was stopped, the money already spent would be wasted.²⁸

Working against time, Owen prepared to take the field. A force of over a hundred was needed and twenty New Harmony men volunteered.²⁹ With this group as a nucleus for his corps, Owen went to St. Louis to complete his preparations. He hired more men, and bought provisions, instruments, and equipment, paying for them with his personal note for \$3,000.³⁰ By dint of much hard work and careful planning the entire corps of men was assembled and ready for work in the field in just one month from the day that Owen had received his instructions.³¹

Then began a whirlwind survey of 11,000 square miles of territory. Owen's raw and largely untrained force had been given a short course in the principles of geology and instructed in the use of simple chemical tests for mineral identification. Even on the steamboat which carried the expedition to Rockingham, the geologist held classes for his men. In the cabin he displayed suites of rocks, charts, and maps, and drilled them in the fundamentals of field surveying.³² Owen had one trained geologist on his staff,

²⁶*Ibid.*; The estimated cost was about \$10,000 but Owen spent \$34,000. See James Whitcomb to Levi Woodbury, Sept. 17, 1839, L. O. Misc. Corr., Shelf No. 76 and D. D. Owen to James Whitcomb, New Harmony, Apr. 3, 1840, L. O. Reg. Let. Recd., Shelf No. 91.

²⁷D. D. Owen to James Whitcomb, New Harmony, Aug. 27, 1839, L. O. Reg. Let. Recd., Shelf No. 91.

²⁸James Whitcomb to Levi Woodbury, Sept. 11, 17, 18, 1839, L. O. Misc. Corr., Shelf No. 76.

²⁹*I. W. I. Report, 1844*, 13; Wm. Amphlett to Wm. Maclure, New Harmony, Sept. 26, 1839, Maclure Papers. (In the Workingmen's Institute Library, New Harmony, Indiana).

³⁰*I. W. I. Report, 1844*, 13; D. D. Owen to James Whitcomb, [St. Louis?], Sept. 5, 1839, L. O. Reg. Let. Recd., Shelf No. 91.

³¹*I. W. I. Report, 1844*, 13; D. D. Owen to James Whitcomb, [Rockingham, Iowa?], Sept. 18, 1839, L. O. Reg. Let. Recd., Shelf No. 91.

³²J. Schneck and Richard Owen, *The History of New Harmony, Ind.* (Evansville, 1890), 8.

Dr. John Locke of Cincinnati, who was to make a report on the dip of the rock formations. Locke also was to make some experimental magnetic readings with a specially sensitive compass which he had designed.³³

When the whole contingent arrived at Rock River, Owen divided his force into twenty-four working corps, each in charge of a sub-agent. They were sent to stations at the township lines along the boundary between the Dubuque and Burlington land districts, on the west side of the Mississippi. Owen arranged for each corps to report to him at fixed times and places. In order to keep these appointments, he traveled back and forth across the region eleven times.³⁴ He calculated that it would be necessary for each corps to examine thirty quarter-sections of land, or the survey would not be completed on time.³⁵ Constant supervision was necessary to maintain this schedule. Every few days Owen reported to the Land Office the amount of territory surveyed and sent maps indicating the townships in which mineral deposits were found. The abstracts of these reports give brief glimpses of the rapid progress that was made. September 25, six days after work was begun, ten townships (360 square miles), had been examined. On October 2, the survey had advanced north of the Wapsipinicon River, and a total of forty townships had been completed. Then the corps proceeded to the Yellow River, then over into Wisconsin to Prairie du Chien and Mineral Point and back to Rock River. Always the detached corps moved northward.³⁶ It was difficult to maintain the exacting schedule demanded by the exigencies of a race against time. Rain and consequent dampness, combined with the hardships of camp life, caused sickness among the men. Several became so ill that they were relieved from duty, and on October 2 one man died of "congestive fever." The first report, in the *Burlington Gazette*, was that Doctor David

³³James Whitcomb to D. D. Owen, Sept. 10, 1839, L. O. Misc. Corr., Shelf No. 76; *I. W. I. Report*, 1844, 65, 163; *Iowa Sun* (Davenport), Nov. 6, 1839, quoting *Iowa News*, n. d.

³⁴D. D. Owen to James Whitcomb, [Rockingham, Iowa?], Sept. 18, 1839, L. O. Reg. Let. Recd., Shelf No. 91; *I. W. I. Report*, 1844, 13.

³⁵*I. W. I. Report*, 1844, 13.

³⁶D. D. Owen to James Whitcomb, n. p., Sept. 25, Oct. 2, Oct. 5, 1839, L. O. Reg. Let. Recd., Shelf No. 91; *Iowa News*, Oct. 5, 1839.

D. Owen himself had died. Though this was promptly denied by the *Iowa Sun* at Davenport, the false story gained great currency before overtaken by its correction, later in the fall.³⁷

Commissioner Whitcomb instructed Owen to secure the co-operation of the people of the territory and assure them that the government would look after their interest. Consequently Owen was as conciliatory as possible, and sought to secure the support of the newspaper editors for himself and the government. The papers of Dubuque and Davenport were given full information about the progress of the survey, and the editor of the *Iowa Sun* at Davenport spent several hours in the field with Owen and Locke. The *Sun* also published extracts from Owen's instructions in which the settlers were asked to co-operate with Owen. Everywhere the geologist was warmly received and he won the confidence of farmers and miners alike. He listened to everyone, and his patient explanation of the purpose of the survey did much to allay the friction between the Land Office and the miners and the farmers. The latter were fearful that the land to be opened to purchase after Owen's reconnaissance might be placed on the market in the midst of winter when it would be difficult for the prospective settlers to attend the sale. Owen recognized the justice of the complaint, and urged the Commissioner to await until spring before opening new areas. Whitcomb was pleased with Owen's handling of the situation and readily granted the request.³⁸

When the geologist visited Dubuque, John Daugherty and other lead mine operators enthusiastically displayed their mines and permitted him to examine them thoroughly. Owen would have been wined and dined by the leading citizens but for the fact that he had to hurry away to keep an appointment with a sub-corps. The inhabitants of

³⁷D. D. Owen to James Whitcomb, n. p., Oct. 2, 1839, L. O. Reg. Let. Recd., Shelf No. 91. The man's name was Soper, and he was replaced by an engineer, Owen P. Owen. The coincidence of names helped to give rise to the rumor. *Burlington Gazette*, *Iowa Sun*, *Niles Register*, Oct. 26, 1839, repeated the story, and it was copied by New York, St. Louis, and Indianapolis papers. See *Indiana Democrat*, Nov. 22, 1839. When the truth was known a retraction was just as widely circulated. See *Niles Register*, Nov. 2, 1839, and *Indiana Democrat*, Nov. 26, 1839.

³⁸D. D. Owen to James Whitcomb, n. p., Sept. 25, 1839, L. O. Reg. Let. Recd., Shelf No. 91; James Whitcomb to D. D. Owen, Oct. 23, 1839, L. O. Misc. Corr., Shelf No. 76; *Iowa Sun*, Sept. 25, 1839.

Iowa felt that Owen's survey, when its results were published, would spread the fame of the territory's mineral wealth and fertile soil.³⁹

Owen's vigorous prosecution of the survey resulted in complete success. On November 14 the last township was examined. On the very day that the work was completed "a severe snowstorm occurred, a gale blew up from the northwest, the thermometer fell to twelve or fourteen degrees below zero, and the expedition could not have continued its operations in the field a single day longer."⁴⁰ During the following week the corps, traveling down the Mississippi in steamboats, was disbanded at Stephenson, Illinois. The impossible had been done!

During the winter of 1839-40 David Dale Owen prepared maps of the area which he had examined. On them were indicated the exact location of mineral veins and the sites of actual mining operations. These maps provided the Land Office with a permanent and authentic guide whereby the Commissioner would be able to decide just which areas should be offered for outright purchase, and the first based upon the maps took place in the Dubuque Land District in the spring of 1840.⁴¹

—*Walter B. Hendrickson is Assistant Professor of History in Mac Murray College, Jacksonville, Illinois. His full length biography of David Dale Owen is to be published soon by the Indiana Historical Commission as a volume in its Historical Collections.*

³⁹*Indiana Democrat*. Nov. 22, 1839, quoting *Iowa News*, n. d.

⁴⁰*I. W. I. Report*. 1844, 14.

⁴¹D. D. Owen to James Whitcomb, New Harmony, Feb. 9, 1840, L. O. Reg. Let. Recd., Shelf No. 91. It was not, however, until 1846 that Congress abandoned the policy of leasing the lead ore fields, and threw them open to sale at a minimum price of five dollars an acre.

"The Irrepressible Conflict of 1861"

The Letters of Samuel Ryan Curtis

EDITED BY KENNETH E. COLTON

The letters published here of Samuel Ryan Curtis, soldier, engineer, and Congressman, begin in January, 1861, two months after the fateful presidential election of November 6, 1860, which sent Abraham Lincoln to the White House a minority president and which set the country reeling, amid visible signs of preparation, toward an "irrepressible conflict."¹

The Curtis letters commence in the midst of strenuous last hour efforts to find some means of compromise whereby the Union might be preserved. The debates were bitter; ominous were the declarations both in and out of Congress, North and South, that nothing could save the Union. Despair and inaction in high places and low, in Washington and in the states, were everywhere to be seen and heard.

The art of successful compromise which had won the victories of 1820, 1832, and 1850, appeared lost. Possibly even Henry Clay might not have exercised his magic in 1861, a magic which had produced the Missouri Compromise, the Tariff of 1833, and the Compromise of 1850. A Senatorial Committee of Thirteen and a House Committee of Thirty-three, appointed in the first weeks of December, 1860, were in January discovering the difficulties of reconciling intransigent principles. The rock upon which all efforts foundered was the Northern insistence upon "no extension of slavery into the territories," and the Southern demand that this right be granted.

The Buchanan administration could offer no leadership to a country distraught; harried by hesitancy, uncertainty, and the southern dominance of its party, split and divided within itself, it watched in impotence a

¹The phrase "irrepressible conflict" originated in a speech of William H. Seward at Rochester, N. Y., Oct. 25, 1858. *Dictionary of American History*, 3, 160.

republic in sore travail.² The country itself, torn by conflicting desires for Union, compromise, and the support of "principles," presented a sorry picture of disunity in the face of a gathering storm. Events were in the laps of the gods.

Written to his wife Belinda, at their home in Keokuk where the family had lived for the past seven years, the letters of "Col. Curtis" as he was known in Keokuk, reflect the uneasiness of a Washington familiar with the threats of Southern firebrands and the prediction of Confederate Secretary of War Leroy Walker.³ They reflect a national capitol filled with the turmoil of the rush of patronage seekers, anxious to share in the spoils and rewards of the first administration of a new party, they are filled with the uneasiness of a Washington surrounded by a wavering Virginia and an uncertain Maryland. In these letters echoes the approach of the call to arms.

The Curtis correspondence in many respects but confirm impressions well known to students of the Civil War from the letters and diaries of other public men, of Seward, Weed, Welles, and Browning, to mention a few. These are significant letters, however, because they are the opinions of a western man, representing the frontier state of Iowa. They reflect the frank views, hasty and considered alike, of a man educated in the United States Military Academy at West Point, class of 1831, of a man who had spent a year on the western military posts, had served as a Colonel in the Mexican War with the Third Ohio Infantry, who had struggled with problems of highway, waterway, and rail transportation and navigation in Ohio, Iowa, and Missouri, of a man who had practiced the professions of arms, engineering, and the law.⁴

²John B. Floyd, governor of Virginia, 1849-1852, secretary of war in cabinet of James Buchanan, 1859-1860, opposed to the reenforcement of Major Robert Anderson at Charleston, resigned December 29, 1860. Served in the Confederate forces after the outbreak of war, died in 1863, after attaining the rank of Major General. Cf. *Dictionary of American Biography*.

³Leroy Pope Walker, a leading secessionist Democrat of Alabama, was appointed Secretary of War by Jefferson Davis February 21, 1861, a position he resigned in September due to his feeling of inadequate experience for the post. *D. A. B.*, 19, 351. Walker had shouted that the Confederate forces would be in Washington by May 1, cf Rhodes, *History of the United States*, 3, 361.

⁴See *D. A. B.*, 1, 619-620; *Iowa Historical Record*, 3, 561-565; Stewart, *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, etc., 1865, pp. 35-50. Curtis was described by Hawkins Taylor, one of his Keokuk friends as "of pure habits and full of self-confidence, of an amiable disposition. Ambitious, because he felt that he was competent to

Samuel R. Curtis, at fifty-six, a tall man "of commanding appearance in size and deportment . . . full of self-confidence, of an amiable disposition" was serving the last months of his second term as the first Republican representative from the first Iowa congressional district. Active in Congress on the Military Affairs Committee of the House and in proposals for a western Pacific railroad, Curtis was anxiously awaiting the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln in March, when he would begin his third term as Lincoln began his first in the White House.

A devoted husband and father, besides his wife Belinda, four children comprised the family. The eldest, Henry, was engaged in banking in Keokuk five years before; in 1861, at the age of 24, he was located in the Territory of Nebraska, presumably in Omaha. Three years later he was to lose his life in a skirmish with Southern forces in the State of Kansas. Samuel, the second son, a year younger than Henry, had left the family home to try his fortunes in the Territory of Colorado. Sadie, a graceful nineteen in 1861, as the eldest daughter kept quarters for her father while he attended sessions in Washington during the months recorded below. The baby of the family was Carrie, a child of eight in 1861, the "Caddie" so frequently mentioned in the father's letters to his wife.⁵

H R Washington Jan'y 9. 1861

My dear Wife

Your letter of the 2d and one from Goodi— on the subject of changing our household arrangements were received last night. I am inclined to think we had better give up housekeeping, some time soon, but I dislike to do so without some further reflection: for I have a longing anxiety to unite our dear family with you at our quiet fireside in March and if then the troublesome times permit, allow us a few weeks or months of family home enjoyment.

I will not precipitate a determination. We need not be in great haste. I presume Goodrill [?] will not be required to move hastily.

fill any position, without any of the qualities to capture the masses." *Iowa Historical Record*, *supra*.

⁵Cf. *Iowa State Census*, 1856, Lee County, (Vol. 52).

Although things look quite cheerless [?] in many respects, we are not in desparate straits just yet and we need not be in great haste.

Goodril proposes that he take the house and in consideration board you and Carrie. This does not seem to me a safe arrangement for us. You may or may not desire to remain there. If I am to be here most of the time to attend called cessions as now seems probable you would probably prefer to be nearer to me and I should prefer to have you. I would of course prefer that Goodril should have the house and furniture, but is he so settled now as to feel certain he will remain in Keokuk. Hard times are down on all of us and we must arrange our domacils [sic] to suit the revolutionary times that now seems to embarrass all matters of business and may influence the peace and quiet of different localities.

We have got through the Committee of 33⁶ and the Chairman Mr. Corwin⁷ is now writing out his report. Our recommendations are only explanatory of our views of Southern rights under the Constitution with provisions to give a little more clearness to matters in controversy.

Mr. Adams' proposition to admit New Mexico as a State is the only important matter.⁸

It would stifle the question about territory as this is all there is South of 36.30 The disunionists will of course refuse everything; but we want [to] deprive them of every ground of complaint and then let them stand clearly on persistent wrong. In the Caucus and among republicans I have opposed this because I preferred a general organization of the territories as incohate [sic] states which would in my judgment settle the matter and

⁶The Committee of Thirty-three was appointed December 6, 1860, upon motion of Boteler of Virginia. Curtis was appointed the member of the Committee from Iowa. Majority reports of the committee were filed January 14, and the minority January 16. A consideration of the same was made a special order of the day for Monday, January 21. No formal action of the House was had, however. Its purpose was to consider the proposals of compromise which might avert secession. Tension was so high, and tempers and mind so determined, that several members refused to serve on the Committee, stating they knew they could accept no compromise. See the *Congressional Globe* 36th Congress, 1st session, for appropriate dates.

⁷Thomas Corwin, Whig and Republican leader of Ohio served in both branches of the national legislature. In 1861 he was completing his last term as a Representative before taking duties under the new administration as minister to Mexico.

⁸See *Congressional Globe* for references to New Mexico being admitted as a state.

organize all necessary territories. But Mr Adams does not by his propositions violate our platform and if it tends to peace or tend to expose the obstancy of the revolutionists I am willing to go with those who must take some responsibility in their support of the chairman and Mr Adams.

We are in momentary anxiety to hear from Charleston where it is said troops and provisions have been sent to the relief of Major Anderson.⁹ As I said to you in a former letter, I do not care now how much S Carolina displays her *quo animo* it will rally the entire North to the resentment of insults and outrages already committed. My resolutions favoring the use of force were defeated in the Committee of 33 by a substitute introduced by Mr Dunn of Indiana—¹⁰ There is still a hope existing among some that we may avoid blood. I consider it impossible and therefor the sooner the appeal to arms be made the less extended will be the conflict and the sooner we may hope to see peace.

Nat Sturges is hear [sic] boarding with us and is enjoying himself generally He seems [as] clever and kind as ever and has some hope of securing some office under the incoming administration.

Last night we called on Miss Juliana May her mother and sister where we had a feast of music and very agreeable visit.

After that I went with the Mr Pennyman¹¹ and made a call at the Speakers.¹² Miss May gives a concert Thursday even'g for the benefit of some persons who sustain losses by a fire that occurred last week.

Legislation is proceedi'g while I write. We are very quiet while the gathering storm of the South continues to threaten the entire country. Perhaps you had best show this to Goodril. I will write him soon Give my love

⁹Major Robert Anderson, West Point graduate, Southerner by birth and antecedents, assigned to protect Charleston Harbor in 1860, was an unintentional hero of Fort Sumter. An earnest soldier he adhered to the Union cause in the war that followed. Cf. *D. A. B.*, 1.

¹⁰William McKee Dunn, representative from Indiana 1859-1863, later rose to become Judge Advocate General in the U. S. Army.

¹¹William Pennyman, Governor of New Jersey 1837-1843, Whig member of Congress but one term, 1859-1861, was elected Speaker for that term, one in which much contention with the Chair was inevitable.

¹²William Pennington, see fn. 11.

to our folks. I will answer Laiffe [?] and brother Hosmer very soon.

Affectionately yours

Sam. R. Curtis

Washington Jany 19. 1861.

My dear wife

I have not any thing very late from you, but before going to bed I feel desirous of writing you a few lines. I know the rumours of threatened attack on this city, and the continual advance of revolution, must create much anxiety; and my letters will therefore be especially interesting.

The great speech of Mr. Seward¹³ and the report of Mr Corwin Chairman of our Committee, and the general effort to show a desire to prevent a destruction of the Union; it is evident must create some consideration in Sections where people have not entirely got besides themselves. Mr Etheridge¹⁴ of Tennessee told me yesterday he had little more hope of reaction. Still the movements in several states are looked upon with much anxiety, and we every day feel that some trifling event will create new complications. So long as Virginia and Maryland are within the Union, according to their own resolves: this city is quite safe in my judgement. General Scott¹⁵ is collecting regular Marines and organising the Volunteers which he thinks "may secure the peace of the City." So he writes me in a private note responding to a letter sent through me from Col Whittlesey¹⁶ of Cleveland tendering forces &c. If things appear to me the least dangerous I

¹³William H. Seward, Governor of New York, and leading member of the Republican party, later Secretary of State under Lincoln and Johnson, was a spokesman for the Compromise Republicans. His speech in the Senate referred to here, delivered January 12, 1861, was widely quoted in the press of the north. It caused some concern among Republicans because it was thought Seward had gone too far in hinting at willingness to compromise. A calm dispassionate speech. Seward rehearsed the history of compromise in the history of the nation. See *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 1860-1861, pp. 341-344; *Keokuk Gate City*, Jan. 19, 1861.

¹⁴Emerson Etheridge, representative from Tennessee, 1853-1857, 1859-1861, followed that state into the Confederacy.

¹⁵Winfield Scott, southern born, entered the military forces in the War of 1812, rose to rank of Brigadier General in 1814, and became a national hero by his fight at Lundy's Lane, 1814. In 1841 was appointed Commander in Chief, a position he held until age and physical debilities caused his resignation Nov. 1, 1861. A splendid tactician, an excellent diplomat, he was the Whig nominee for President in 1852, being soundly whipped by Pierce.

¹⁶Col. Charles Whittlesey, graduate of the United States Military Academy in 1831, was a classmate of Curtis. A geologist of note and distinction, he served as a Col. in the Ohio Infantry until 1862. See *Iowa Historical Records* 3, 428-429.

will send Sadie home with some of our friends who are visiting at this place. I received a letter from Henry¹⁷ dated at Cincinnati. He expects to be here about the 22d or 24th and wants to stay some week or ten days. By that time I can judge better of danger, but I do not think the taking of this city on the 4th of March or before that time, is now at all probable.

Every day makes it less likely. It is not the work of a day to organize arm and equip forces as you know; and we do not believe there are many volunteers in Virginia that could be easily Collected for this point.

Mr Sturges and his son Shelton, are here occupying rooms in this house. Mr Sturges is quite nervous, but not near so much so as he was last year. Edward is also here yet. He and Sadie have gone to Resides to spend the evening.

I had a letter from Mr Stevens¹⁸ of Keokuk to day, dated at Springfield. He says I am still talked of there in Connection with a Cabinet appointment. Messers Harland¹⁹ and Vandever²⁰ have both written letters very favorable to me. They much prefer my appointment to that of Warrens.²¹

It is very flattering to me, that I should be named in such honorable connection; especially that my Colleagues should so endorse me.

Mrs Andrews and Sadie are always together; and I am exceedingly glad of it, for the more I see of Mrs. Andrews the more I admire her.

She is very kind and confiding with Sadie, and I see she has her entire confidence.

The weather has been quite warm and spring like to

¹⁷Henry Z. Curtis, son of S. R. Curtis.

¹⁸James Harlan, senior Senator from Iowa, 1853-1865, 1867-1873, served as Secretary of Interior under Johnson, 1865-1866.

¹⁹William Vandever, Representative from Iowa 1859-1861, and from California 1887-1891, was Col. of the 9th Iowa Vol. Infantry, 1861, raised to Brigadier General in 1862, was appointed Major General in 1865. He was a member of the Peace Convention of 1861.

²⁰Fitz Henry Warren, a stormy figure in Iowa Whig and Republican politics, resident of Burlington, was Assistant Post Master General under Presidents Taylor and Fillmore, 1849-1852. Warren was spoken of for Post Master General in 1861, which appears to have been the post for which Curtis was likewise recommended. Warren followed a stormy period on the Greeley New York *Tribune* with an equally strife-filled period in the army, first as Col. 1st Iowa Vol. Cav., and as a Brigadier General in the state of Louisiana.

²¹Probably Manning W. Stevens, a farmer of Jackson Township, Lee County, who "acted with the Republican party since its organization."

day, and Sadie has been out of school visiting the Smithsonian institutue with Mr. Sturges and Miss Delano who is at Willards with her father spending a few days.

The fluttering of the burner, shows that other gas lights are generally extinguished, and it must therefore be growing late. How does your money matters hold out? I must send you a draft if you need funds.

The 4th of March is approaching, but none too fast to satisfy me and save the country. I look forward to it with anxiety, not merely because Lincoln is coming into power, but because I want to see you and my dear little daughter and all our dear friends in Keokuk.

Kiss the little darling for papa Tell her I do not think I can find any little sister pretty enough for a match for her. Besides I wonder whether she would love her big sister just as well. You know how much better she loves to play with little children than she does with us. I want her to play with me when the grass gets green and the flowers are bright and pretty like her.

Affectionately & Ever yours

Saml. R. Curtis

H. R Washington Jany 19. 1861

My dear wife

Your letter of the 12th and 13th and 14th was duly received and has caused us great anxiety on account of the illness of our dear little daughter. We shall be trembling with fear for every hour that hangs over the uncertainty of her illness. I hope we will receive a letter today. If we do not we will hope she is not worse. You are so far away I will hereafter insist on your coming nearer to us during future sessions.

Things still look precarious. We have not power to do what ought to be done; and while revolution proceeds it is hard to say what would be best. This Capitol is the Key to our Nationality and it can only be with *with Maryland*. That it seems to me is a clear and incontrovertible proposition. To hold Maryland we must try to do so pecibly [sic] for if forces be necessary to hold such a

state against the will of her people will require a very strong force and the United efforts of every branch of our government. Unity everywhere and prudent Councils are necessary to hold this point and our impatient friends who wonder why we do not make more bluster should rather reproach the indiscretion of some who throw fire-brands which are used by those who guard the citidel of a great good and glorious confederacy.

I send you a globe of today giving a 5 minute speech of mine on the power to hold border states. It is short and to the point, and the Gate ought to publish it.²²

I have just made a speech of about 5 minutes on the subject Indian wars. It ought to be published also I will send it forward tomorrow. However this last should be published at Council Bluffs as it is more on frontier matters and excuses our frontier people for their unfortunate struggles in Indian difficulties.²³

I had a long letter yesterday from Texas giving me assurances that the conspiracy [sic] for taking this capitol extends to Texas and is part of the plan of the Knights of the Golden Circle²⁴ who No. one hundred and fifty thousand men Sworn to do any and everything to carry out their revolutionary purposes. The letters comes from an old friend and free Mason now in Texas. He says he does not want to see Sam Curtis Tom Corwin & John Sherman assassinated.²⁵

I think we are very safe so long as Maryland hold firm, but her secession cannot be accomplished in a day and cannot be accomplished without "the note of prepara-

²²A short speech delivered January 19, it was in reply to a resolution proposed by Jenkins of Virginia that none of the army appropriations be used to recover forts or arsenals taken by states now seceded, or from those which may secede. Curtis declared: "When the forts of the Government are taken by lawless mobs, I deem it my duty to vote for their recovery. . . . I would adopt every means of conciliation, exhaust all other means before I would resort to force; but, as a Representative of the United States, I could never consent to a proposition like that now offered. . . ." *Congressional Globe*, op. cit., p. 461.

The remarks never appeared in the Gate City, largely because of the controversial Union meetings then in progress.

²³Also a short speech, delivered the same day, January 19. *Cong. Globe*, 478. The speech was not printed in the *Gate City*.

²⁴The Knights of the Golden Circle was organized about 1855, had definite pro-Southern directions. During the Civil War it was an active Copperhead organization. cf. *American Historical Review*, XLVII, 23-50.

²⁵Thomas Corwin and John Sherman, both of Curtis' former state of Ohio, were colleagues in the House of R.

tion" I am therefore very easy in my place in the performance of my duty.

You are very right in saying I ought to write to Mr Graham.²⁶ Tell him he is not the less *the first object of my influence*.

Tell him (and tell no body else) I have set my eye on the office of 5th Auditor and I have the promise of the aid of Mr. Harlan²⁷ for that particular thing. It is to audit the Post office accounts which I am told requires but little personal labor but the charge of clerks who do the duty.

We are all very well. Mr. Sturges Sadie and I have arranged to go over to George Town today after dinner to visit the Nichols. We are all very well and Affectionately yours

Saml. R. Curtis

Washington Jany 26. 1861.

My dear wife

We were glad to receive your letter to Sadie last night, and very glad to hear you and Caddie are so well. Some sore throat prevails here. Sadie has been complaining of it for a day or two, but she is about and attended a party with me last night at Mr. Greens, the old friend who lives in a splendid mansion near the Observatory. I had never been there, and we thought we must accept of his kind invitation after so many acts of courtesy received from him during the past 3 years. We were very kindly received and elegantly entertained.

Mr. Tate, his sister in law, and Dr. Tate brother in law are staying there, and I have seen no establishment superior to it in Washington. Mrs. Tate sent her regards to you, saying that she became somewhat acquainted with you two years ago. Henry did not go with us because he and Sadie had by some mistake, made another appointment at Judge Lawrance, where there was also a small and pleasant party. Ned Sturges, who is still with us went and spent the evening at Mr. Cox' quarters.

²⁶Probably John A. Graham, former mayor of Keokuk, 1849-1852, a Virginian by birth.

²⁷Senator James Harlan of Iowa.

The public matters move forward in the same downward direction, but precipitation is not so rapid. Kentucky and other border states are disposed to look before they leap.

I have felt very little concern about the defenses of this city, because I have great confidence in General Scott who ought to provide against any pending danger.

We are supposed to be a deliberative body, and although we ought to assist in carrying out plans, we ought not to have the trouble and embarrassment of details or determination of the question of our own fortification. I say this to explain to you why we in the Congress do not make more fuss about the matter.

The force here is still very insignificant and the Chairman of our Military Committee²⁸ has so intimated to the Secretary of War²⁹ but the Department replies that the President is averse to calling out more force and against the introduction of a bill authorizing him to call out force. The object is to let matters run on, slipshod, till Mr. Lincoln comes in, and then if we are all assassinated Buchanan would say "Shake not thy gory locks at me thou canst not say I did it." But my hope is that neither Virginia or Maryland will adopt precipitation and without the secession of these States, there is little or no danger of any attack on this city.

Besides such a movement could not be made in this country without more of a note of preparation.

Henry is enjoying himself, and I hope he will stay a week or two before going west.

He has a bed in my room, so that Mrs. Joy will only charge something like day boarding. In this way it will not cost much more that it would in Omaha.

Dear little Caddie, I am very glad you are well and growing larger every day. I hope you will read me a pretty story when I get home. I tell you daughter these

²⁸Benjamin Stanton, representative from Ohio 1851-1853, 1855-1861.

²⁹Joseph Holt, a Kentucky Democrat. Appointed Commissioner of Patents 1857 to succeed Charles Mason of Keokuk, Iowa, Holt was designated Postmaster General in 1859. A sympathiser of Southern sentiment at this time, he inclined to the Union cause when appointed Secretary of War January 1, 1861, to succeed John B. Floyd, resigned. He actively sought to keep Kentucky in the Union, and later, as Judge Advocate General under Lincoln and Johnson supported the Radicals in Congress. See *D. A. B.* 9, 181-183.

little sisters here are not much better than your dollie—Indeed they are not nice enough to make sisters to you and I am not willing to buy them.

You may think Cousin Helin [?] got a very pretty little Cousin and therefore I might get such a one for you; but I tell you there are no more of that sort. Mrs. Morris' baby has black hair, and I don't like black headed babies—do you? Besides she won't sell hers at any price. Don't you think she is green? I think it cries and bites her too! Well, if I cannot get a little sister for you, perhaps I can get you a little book or a little pairsol or something else

You tell me something that will please you just as well as a live sister baby.

Ever Affectionately yours

Saml. R. Curtis

Washington Feby 3. 1861

My dear wife

This is Sunday and my birthday³⁰ and it would be wrong to pass it over without writing to you. The past week has been passed in the usual way, except that I have attended two or three evening parties. One at Speaker Penningtons a very nice one. Sadie had the headache and could not go. One at Mr Forneys a Gentleman's party where we sang hail Columbia and the Star Spangled banner with great glee. One at Willards to meet a New York delegation who came to bring the petition of 40,000 favorable to compromise.

Sadie was out with Henry at hops on several occasions also where they all enjoyed themselves very much. We were sorry to part with Henry on Friday I tried to prevail on him to stay longer but he thought it would not do for him to delay any longer.

Revolution has been moving on regularly and tomorrow will determine the fate of Virginia and probably the fate of other border States. If they all determine on Secession it is hard to see what will be the extent of the future

³⁰Born February 3, 1805, near Champlain, N. Y., while family was en route to Ohio.

disasters to our whole country. It will unsettle the National Government by establishing facilities for disunion which will render all new unions entirely unsettled and uncertain.³¹

Yet that is not the immediate consequence and therefore it will not be so generally appreciated. The immediate effect will be a strife in regard to the ownership of this the Capitol of the United States. More force will be needed to hold Washington and immediate efforts will be taken to secure it. Hitherto the President has resisted every effort to prepare or procure force for the occasion³² but I think in the event of secession in Va the necessity will be so apparent no one will object to it.

The Union men in Virginia are hopeful and may carry the election. If they do there will be a great check on revolution as Virginia has deservedly a great influence in the South.³³

Mr Sturges is here writing at my table. He is very well and entirely himself. Yet he is always in my room and he and Ed together occupy too much of my time and that of Sadie's too. Kate and one of her brothers are expected this week and that will not reduce the interruptions. Of course I go on with my writing but I have no time to think or study while my room is so occupied.

Our last letter from you was written to Sadie after you had dined at Laiffes I believe. You were all very well then and busying sewing. I would not bother much about pillow cases till we know how long we are going to remain at home. Certainly do not add to our furniture [sic] which we will have to rent or stow away.

I wish you and Caddie were here. It is rather pleasant although I have not been out to enjoy it. Am talking of going out with Mr. Sturges who is enamoured with all

³¹In January Virginia authorized the election on February 4, of members to attend a state convention to determine that state's position in the developing threat of federal schism. The election was a decided triumph for the conservative-compromise forces. *Cf. Rhodes, 3, 309.*

³²Buchanan wavered between a desire to avoid Civil War while president, and a sincere desire to refrain from aggression on the part of the North. His policy changed markedly after January, 1861, with changes in his cabinet. Scott, Commander in Chief of the Army, was not in good graces with Buchanan, and only moved his headquarters from New York to Washington in December, 1860.

³³See fn. 31. The result in Virginia had a great influence on Tennessee and Maryland particularly.

the ladies especially one friend in Georgetown—But I think he sees too many wrinkles [?] on some of their faces to satisfy his fancy. He has offered 15 thousand dollars for Mr Nicholls' property but that is not enough for it and therefore he is not likely to get it.

Mr. and Miss Delano³⁴ are here at this house and Miss Delano is a fine companion for Sadie. She also occupies too much of Sadie's time. But she is a very smart and agreeable girl. Delano is anxious to be one of the Cabinet. What his chances are I cannot say. It seems agreed that Chase³⁵ cannot be admitted as one and somebody ought to be taken from Ohio. Perhaps he may be.

The proceedings of the Union meeting in Keokuk were not such as to unite the North. I am sorry to see such divisions when we ought to be United.³⁶

Divisions must be disposed of in some way, or instead of having the South to fight neighbors will be fighting each other. The revolutionists are uniting the South most effectually

What about money. Are you in need of funds? I have my deposit so it draws interest in New York and only want to draw when you need it. Have you killed the old cow? Has the farms brought you in any provisions? How are the things in the garden are they all safe. I will send you some seeds soon. I suppose the river is closed and therefore you have no boats running. Kiss Caddie

Affectionately yours

Saml. R. Curtis

³⁴Columbus Delano, of Ohio, an ardent Republican leader of that state, was among those who seconded the nomination of Lincoln in Chicago in 1860. He served in Congress, 1845-1847, 1865-1869, and as Secretary of Interior under Grant, 1871-1875.

³⁵Salmon P. Chase, ardent Whig, Free Soiler, and "Black" Republican served Ohio in the U. S. Senate 1849-1855, 1861. His selection for a cabinet position was strongly opposed by Seward followers were more favorable to compromise than was Chase. Chase was a strong favorite son contender for the nomination in 1860 at Chicago.

³⁶Keokuk, south-east tip of Iowa, was a strongly Democratic stronghold. The impending Civil War sorely tried the faiths and loyalties of that party. A Union meeting called by the principle Democrats was held January 19, and adjourned to January 23, at which time vigorous arguments ensued in a disharmonious fashion over the rights of secession, and the virtues of the Crittenden compromises. Democrats were willing to let the seceding states go rather than wage war, the Republicans present were not.

A second meeting of the Democratic adherents in Keokuk was held January 26, at which time the Crittenden compromises were generally approved. Such a report showed little unity or harmony, these divided counsels boded ill for a vigorous policy. See *Keokuk Gate City*, January 19, 23, 25, 27, 28, 1861.

Washington Feby 8. 1861

My dear wife

Your letter was duly received last night, and I send you a 30 \$ draft which our [?] Mr Stanton has just received.

I had received a letter from Sam about the same date as that of yours. I am glad to see he is re elected warden of the church and have so written him. Such an office is not only very honorable but it will act as a restraint on him.

You say my letters do not give details That must be so I am much pressed with care private and public, and I am kept so busy I have no time to look at any one subject any considerable length of time. Sadie is busy with her school and with company and I feel too poor to hire help; so I work incessantly. The Convention is becoming a very important matter. Most of the States have now appointed delegates except the Seceding states and I want to attend that body as much as I can—Since the election in Va and the assembling of that Convention things look a little more hopeful but they are hard enough yet³⁷

Do not fail to write very often I wish you was here to assist in sending off seeds and documents. Mr Stanton helps me considerable but he expects nothing and I shall not pay very much I can assure you. I fear we will be sold out yet. Still let us hope on they cannot hang us for being poor. I am possessed of good health also and can perform a vast amount of work. I am glad also to see our boys have good health. If Henry does not go by Keokuk you will no doubt be much disappointed. I kept him longer than Pa seemed to think he ought to stay; and yet he only remained 11 days

I want you to write them often. Kiss my dear little Caddie. Kate Sturgis is spending a few days with Sadie Mr Sturgis however is down spirited and insists on going home very soon

³⁷The "Peace Convention" or "Border Slave States Convention," convened in Washington February 4, at the suggestion of the Virginia legislature, with representatives chosen either by state legislatures or state conventions. Only 21 out of 33 states were represented. Iowa was represented by Harlan and Vandever. The Peace Convention, doomed to failure before it met, came to no acceptable conclusions, for the Crittenden Compromises were not acceptable to many of the North, and less was not acceptable to the South.

The same day commissioners from the seven seceded states convened at Montgomery, Alabama, to draw a provisional government of the Confederacy.

Sadie is very well. It is awful cold just now I fear you will find it much more so.

Affectionately yours
Saml. R. Curtis

My dear wife

Washington Feby 10th 1861

I received a dispatch and then a letter from Henry H Curtis³⁸ S. Louis urging me to make out a mortgage immediately to secure his debt. He says the court is in session and judgements will be increased against me so as to endanger his claims.

I do not understand that court is siting I wrote brother Hosmer on this subject some time ago. I supposed there would be no more courts till some time after the adjournment giving me a little time for reflection and arrangement. I wish you would ask brother Hosmer and write me immediately. I wrote Henry I did not wish to give any more mortgages unless I could postpone difficulties and expressed a preference for an assignment. If others are trying to get ahead I must prevent injustice among friends.

Mr Sturges is here quiet and rather disconsolate. Sadie Kate George and Edward have been enjoying the last two days sight seeing. They are gone over to see the Coxes this evening. It has moderated as Suddenly as it became cold last week. I never saw such sudden changes. I see by the papers there was a great snow storm north. I suppose you had your share of it at Keokuk and I fancied you and Caddie would have a renewal of bad colds. I could hardly keep warm by a good coal fire here in Washington and you must have felt it much worse there at home.

The first instalment of news from Tennessee comes in today favorable to the Union. If Tennessee comes up right I shall consider the border States quite safe³⁹

³⁸A relative whose address was also given later as Quincy, Illinois.

³⁹A call was issued for a state convention in Tennessee on January 7, 1861, to consider position of the state in the impending crisis. The elections, held February 9, gave the Union friends a clear 67,000 majority, the people voting down the holding of a convention. After Sumter, however, the tide of secession rose rapidly, and the state cast its lot with the Confederacy May 1, 1861. Cf. *American Annual Cyclopedia*, Appleton & Co., 1861, pp. 677-679.

The Southern Convention-however-have elected a strong President and Vice President-Davis and Stevens.⁴⁰ They however may be better able to secure a compromise as they are both very reasonable men; but if they will not have adjustment and union; then these men are formidable as leaders of a Southern Confederacy

It looks in their hands like a *defacto* Government likely to be respected by foreign nations and therefore likely to be permanent fixture. It looks as though my apprehensions are to be consummated. The republic will be divided before Mr Lincoln takes his seat and Mr Buchanan will pass over only a broken septr [sic] and divided sovereignty. The democracy will glory in the shame of having transmitted to their successor despoiled treasury a divided country and a civil war. Let us hope that enough may remain to restore the tottering edifice and secure a renewal of the happy days of our great republic.

My mail last night was so overwhelming, I have laid it aside and attended church today. I should have taken a walk it was so pleasant but somehow I neglected it until it was too late.

The city is filling up with strangers. The Peace Conference has increased till it makes a large assembly. My business in the House prevents me from doing much at the Convention. Mr. Harlan has the post of Committee man there and I leave him to try his hand as Grimes, Vandever,⁴¹ and I have done on former occasions. He thinks they will agree to leave the matters to a convention of the people. I suppose this may do: but it will continue and perhaps embitter the slavery discussion throughout

⁴⁰Jefferson Davis, graduate of West Point in 1828, veteran of two wars, representative in Congress from Mississippi, Senator, and Secretary of War under Franklin Pierce, was an ardent States Rights Southerner who probably yearned for the command of the Confederate armies more than for the presidency. He resigned from the U. S. Senate Jan. 21, 1861. Inaugurated President of the Confederate States of America February 18 and 22, 1861. He was a contemporary in the Senate with Curtis.

Alexander H. Stephens, a short, crippled representative from Georgia, was, prior to 1861, a compromising Democrat, serving in Congress from 1843 to 1859. Elected Vice President of the Confederacy in February, 1861, after the war he served in Congress from 1873 to 1882. He likewise was a contemporary in the House of Curtis from 1857 to 1859.

⁴¹James W. Grimes, junior senator from Iowa, one of the three principle leaders of the Republican party in the state, served as U. S. Senator from 1859 to 1870. He was one of the Committee of 13 appointed in the Senate December 18, 1860. Vandever see fn. 19.

the country. It may defer disastrous civil war and possibly give time for sensible reflections.

My correspondence is mostly about office. Every candidate gets his friends to write as much and as often as possible.

The apprehensions in regard to the taking this capitol grow less as military companies arrive daily and the determination of the border States look more towards perpetuating the union. We have now near a thousand regulars here, and the danger of attack is therefore insignificant. If reaction takes place in favor of secession we will make further guards against accident.

Continue to write often and fully. I am glad to see the time now begins to shorten. Only 3 weeks. A long time in revolution: and much may transpire during this period. Still the dangers that threatened Lincoln's advent seem to have received a quietus by the Virginia election. And I regard his inauguration as an accomplished fact.

Much love to all and many kisses to Caddie

Affectionately yours

Saml. R. Curtis

My dear wife

Washington Feby 19. 1861

While the Navy bill is being discussed I will say a few words to you. I was agreeably surprised last night at the arrival of Uncle Johnny who stepped into my room as fresh and fair as a young girl of ten years. He is going the rounds today I suppose. I left him with Mr Harlan this morning

The town is filling up with strangers, generally seeking office. The news from St. Louis giving the news of the election there going strong for the Union creates quite a sensation [sic]. I hope the news may be corroborated everywhere. In the mean time the peace Conference is trying to get something through that body that will hold Virginia; for she seems to be doubtful yet. A great noise was made here this morning because we tried to get a bill through authorising the President to call out the Militia in case of insurrection.

I see we will have trouble in spite of all peace measures and Union sentiments. The Cotton Confederacy seems pretty well organized and they are making preparations for war on rather a large scale. Every step of the kind makes them more and more irreconcilable [sic]. The question of the border states is different. Secession with them is a little more of a practical danger and therefore the hesitation

If however the border states are going to prevent us from executing the laws they were better out than in.

I see by your last letter that we said but little about Henrys trip homeward. He did not himself determine as to whether he would go to Keokuk and we could not therefore advise you. No doubt he will give you satisfactory reasons for not availing himself of such an occasion.

We were much delighted with Caddies letter to Sadie. She talks about little things we like to hear. As to my letters how can you expect me to go into little matters when I am so overwhelmed with matters which seem to involve the whole country.

I am glad to see the time still shortens, and the day of inauguration is close at hand. We will then have to leave matters with the new executive who I am sorry to see will come into power surrounded by revolution and very little power to repel foes.

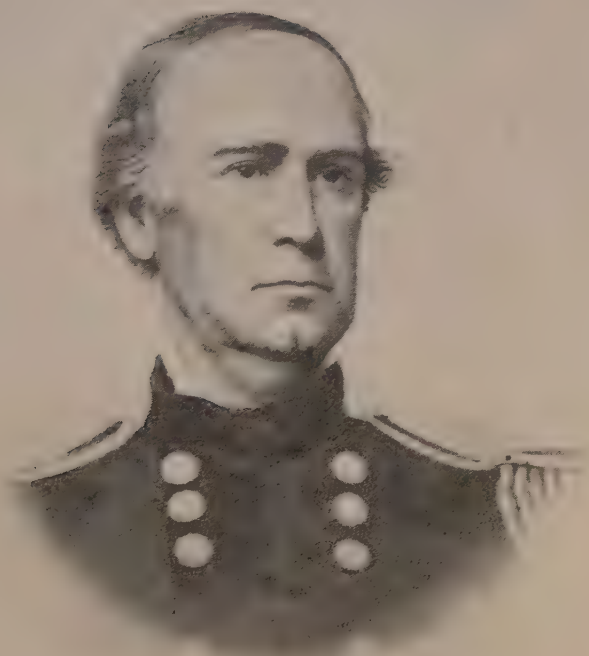
Kiss little Caddie for Pa and give my love to all our friends.

Affectionately yours
Saml. R. Curtis

Washington Feby 24 1861

My dear wife

Although I have about finished a large table full of letters, I must not close writing till I give you a few broken sentences. Before this reaches you, you will hear of Mr. Lincolns arrival at this place, and that he came through by a night train without complying with his programme so unfortunately prolonged and so foolishly



SAMUEL RYAN CURTIS
1803-1866
Soldier, Engineer and Congressman

performed.⁴² I regret the whole matter. First that he made the array of a programme. Second that he made light of grave questions, and finally that he did not carry out the programme *at all hasards*. But I make no open fuss about matters comparatively trifling and hope his inauguration and policy may justify all our hopes. But there should not have been the least display of alarm. Courage and prudence are the utmost importance at this crisis of our affairs, and although his coming was no doubt a prudential [?] arrangement made by others, yet it will be reflected on him and will be charged to timidity.

I have not called as yet to see him. I hear he looks care worn and weary, and I do not wish to annoy him. Certainly his position is not to be envied. The democracy may rejoice in leaving him a barren scepter. The great republic that has been the pride and glory of the world is I fear a broken vase which will defy the potters skill to restore.

But I will not despair. Some time may be given to things which will restore peace and harmony.

The breach has grown too wide and too deep to be remedied by threats or denunciations. Settlement or civil war is now the dilemma. I see you and other friends so remote still mistake the matter as a new Slavery question, and overlook the greater evil which is here more apparent because it seems to sap the foundation of Civil Society and threaten the peace of every fireside in the country. Liberty must subscribe to law or anarchy follows and despotism after. Many are now beginning to long for a stronger government. If the republicans break up and democracy resume the ascendance, the danger is they will supply anarchy with a powerful military government. Even if republicans hold power they must materially increase their military strength. A firm but very prudent policy may conquer revolution: but every step we take is so persistently misconstrued and used to aid the Southern

⁴²Abraham Lincoln's progress towards Washington, an 11 day trip, took him through the major cities of the north. On Feb. 22, at Philadelphia, he was persuaded to forgo the stop at Baltimore upon representations of a plot to assassinate him there. In consequence he boarded a special train and slipped into Washington by night, arriving at 6 A. M. February 23. The reaction of Curtis was a feeling possessed by many, although definitely difficulties would have been encountered in Baltimore. Cf. Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, the War Years*, I.

excitement; it is still hard to tell what a day or an hour may bring forth. Virginia hangs on a pivot. Her Convention might turn the scale either way. She has checked the progress of revolution but holds the shafts in her hand ready to let the[m] loose if the peace Convention does not relieve the terror of her people. Maryland stands ready to follow Virginia in whatever may be her determination. In the mean time the masses are thrown out of employment. They are restive and revengeful: and unfortunately in all this region their misfortunes are charged on republican rule; although republicans are not yet in power. The inauguration is likely to be a gloomy pageant. There will be apprehensions although I think there will be no danger. But the anxiety will be apparent, and the display will therefore appear gloomy.

During the past week I have been going to and fro between Congress and the Peace Convention, at the same time laboring to keep up my everlasting correspondence. The city is becoming crowded with strangers among them many from Iowa including Mr Graham Hawkins Taylor and Mr. Kasson all of whom you know.⁴³ Sadie is very well and is expecting Mr Bridgeman⁴⁴ with Clara and his sister tomorrow to spend a few days. We have got rooms adjoining for them and therefore they will be very near us.

I received letters from Sam and Henry both today. Sam is at Denver or was when he wrote on the 2nd and Henry is at home from whence no doubt he will write you very fully. Sam wants the Post Office at Denver and I am going to try hard to get it for him. The delegate⁴⁵ goes for him and says he has a right to it being quite as

⁴³Hawkins Taylor, resident in Iowa since 1836, prominent in county politics, was an early Republican supporter of Abraham Lincoln. He succeeded Curtis as Mayor of Keokuk in 1857. His appointment as Special Mail Agent was made shortly after March, 1861.

John A. Kasson, able lawyer, suave diplomat, efficient administrator, with Taylor was a member of the Iowa delegation at Chicago in 1860. His reward was the appointment as First Assistant Post Master General in 1861. Aside from three periods as representative in Congress, Kasson gave distinguished service to the nation as ambassador abroad and in the administrative negotiation of numerous special treaties and at numerous international conferences in the post Civil War years.

⁴⁴Arthur Bridgeman, an Iowa settler since 1838, merchant, Register of the U. S. Land Office at Fairfield, and railroad promoter, by common courtesy called "General." A native of Massachusetts, he was since 1849 a resident of Keokuk.

⁴⁵Hiram P. Bennett. The territory was not granted a delegate officially until February 28, 1861.

prominent and efficient as any other public man connected with the public service out there.

Goodril is excited about the Post office or some other office and you must try to cool him down. It would not do to get him the Post Office in the face of so many prominent political aspirants and I am surprised that he should have dreamed of it. James too wants office. He is better known among political circles but I am so overshadowed and overloaded with applications I can form no idea of what I may be able to do. I will do the best I can for both of them of course consistant with justice and reason.

You better not show them this letter, but quietly cool their arder as much as you can: for they must be disappointed in the scramble that surrounds the avenues of power.

It is about 8 oclock P M and I have not been out doors today. Kiss little Caddie for me. This is the last week of this Congress during which I have a vast amount to do. After the adjournment I hope to have a little more time to consider matters about which my constituents are anxiously looking and I shall therefore stay long enough to fix up my papers and see the lay of the field for office

Affectionately yours
Saml. R. Curtis

Washington Feby 28. 1861.

My dear wife

I did suppose I would not have another moment to write to you; but while there is a discussion going on about the Indian bill, I will drop a line merely for the purpose of sending you the photograph of Edward Sturges and say we are all very well. The day is delightful. Sadie was invited to go with friends to Mt Vernon but she has been so much disturbed in her course of studies I declined my leave. Yet when I came to the capitol grounds and saw the yellow crocus peeping brightly and enjoying the bright beams of a summer sun and the soft air of a summer day I wished I could go and Sadie too and enjoy the day on

the bright waters of the Potomac and in the groves of Mt. Vernon

But here I must stay. I called to see Mr Lincoln this morning with General Wool⁴⁶ [?] but there is always such a crowd about him that I feel no satisfaction in the call. He is overwhelmed with visitors and oppressed with care. We have those around us *republicans* who seem to care nothing for *consequences* as though consequences are outside of moral obligations.

Our Union friends of the South are cheered and will fight more earnestly for our country because they Consider it a good omen. The South must fight the South if any body has to fight and I think yet there is much danger of such consequences.

This is Thursday

Affectionately yours

Saml. R. Curtis

Washington Mar 4 1861

My dear wife

The inauguration has gone off very quietly. The attendance was very great and the day very delightful. Congress finally passed through both houses the measures proposing amendment of the Constitution so as to prevent one state meddling with other folkses business and some other matters suggested by the Committee of 33.⁴⁷ The Senate set all night. Grimes & Harlan both voted for the compromise measure. Mr Lincolns speech was conciliatory but firm. It approves of the conciliatory measures but ably argues the duty and necessity of executing the laws.

Unfortunately we could not carry any measure to enforce obedience when the difficulties amount to great magnitude So the President cannot do much without ex-

⁴⁶John Ellis Wool, began his military career in 1812, rose in ranks until a Brigadier General in 1841. He served with Taylor in the Mexican War. Curtis was a member of Gen. Wool's staff during that war. Following 1856 Wool was Commander of the Department of the East. Probably connection with some of the military bills before the House and the defense of Washington brought the two acquaintances together before Lincoln.

⁴⁷Passed February 27, proposed: "No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State."

ceeding or being charged with exceeding his functions. The Union men of the South and the people of the city seem pleased with the spirit and tone of the message as well as the final action of Congress.

These may give a further check to revolution and disappointment the malevolent [sic] hopes which some fanatics entertain that a general insurrection and bloody civil war would be immediately inaugurated. Yet this will not satisfy the revolutionists. They will try hard to keep up the storm. Wigfall⁴⁸ [?] told me he liked the message it was " 'war to the knife and the knife to the hilt' and if we do not remove our troops they will attack them next week." Of course he is determined to make everything a *menace* however kindly the tone and conclusive the logic. They will now have no earthly excuse. If they are determined to invoke war they will find it difficult to prove to the world *we* are the aggressors, and they must proceed with a consciousness of wrong surmounted with a painful conviction that we are right.

If revolution can prosper under such auspices surely the days of the downfall of civilisation like that which devastated Rome has returned to dessolate the world.

Sadie has too much headach to go to the great ball to-night so I am working in my room surrounded by Uncle Johny, Mr. Scholte⁴⁹ and others. It is late. I will enclose Sams last and bid you good night.

Affectionately and ever yours
Saml. R. Curtis

Washington March 17. 1861

My dear wife

I have not had an hour of peace and quiet since the adjournment. I have new friends coming daily, and new matters to be attended to-directed by every mail.

I did hope to be at home to-day: but could not leave till I had *secured* some places beyond a peradventure.

⁴⁸Louis Tresvant Wigfall, U. S. Senator from Texas 1859-1861. A native of South Carolina he was an ardent Southern rights man, was present at the firing on Fort Sumter, later served in the Confederate army.

⁴⁹Hendrick Peter Scholte, "Domine Scholte," leader of the Hollanders who settled at Pella, Iowa, in 1847. A man of brilliant attainments, early a Democrat, joined the Republican party in 1856.

I have now secured a place for Mr. Stanton, who has done a great deal of document work for me this winter, at 1200 a year. He is also editor of the Washington paper. For Uncle Johnny I have secured after much labor the office of chief clerk in the Registers office 2000 a year which pleases him entirely.

I have also got Grinnell⁵⁰ appointed Secret Mail agent, and the promise and order for a host of P. offices including Keokuk for Howell.

Of course I will disappoint thousands of active old influential political friends and to have given Goodril or James appointments would have exasperated such men as Stevens, Fulton, Genl Bridgemen and others who want the same offices. I will at a proper time try to get places for both but I must not and you must not encourage it; for I am determined to first try to secure places for our own boys who have really deserved places because of their public efforts in two territories. But they will be charged to me as family affairs, and I must not do too much of this. Sams appointment is safe. Henrys is not yet certain. Mr Stevens was a candidate for Marshall but we gave that to Hoxie⁵¹ who was a great worker as Chairman of the State Committee.

Conn, Burns, Shart [?], and fifty more, will complain because they could not be something. I have got along with appointments so as to hope to get home this week. At any rate. I hope no new difficulties will arise. Uncle Johnny wants to stay till he is fully inaugurated. Of course I must see that all is done which is deemed necessary to aid such a working friend.

He has aided in arranging papers, writing letters &c &c, every since he came.

This is Sunday. I ought to go over and bid the Georgetown people goodby before I leave. Jinny was over and left a note for her friend Hollingsworth to get a clerkship. Everybody wants aid. Wallace Curtis is here, and I would like to aid him. He has been a working editor in

⁵⁰Josiah Bushnell Grinnell, founder of Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa, was a member of the Iowa delegation at Chicago in 1860. Following two years as Special Mail Agent he served in Congress from 1863 to 1867.

⁵¹H. M. "Hub" Hoxie.

Fulton and ought to be aided by Illinois Politicians. Ned is here yet. He has come down to demand a \$2000 Consulate and I think stands some chance. But he can make no great political showing as he has not been much of a politician.

You see how my minds runs with my troubles. Hawkins Taylor and Mr Turner are also earnest and active workers in the general scramble. Hawkins will be Special Mail agent on Keokuk and St. Louis mail line. Sadie is very well and I am as ever

Affectionately yours

Saml. R. Curtis

With the first shots fired on Fort Sumter, April 12, and the capitulation of that Charleston, South Carolina, post two days later, the long dreaded "irrepressible conflict" burst into flames. No longer doubting, hesitant, and divided, the North leaped to its feat in one spontaneous demonstration of will and a determination to Save the Union!

A vital object of the federal forces in those first days was to secure an imperiled and all but defenceless Washington. The first state able and prepared to furnish troops for this purpose was Massachusetts, under Governor John A. Andrews. The 6th Massachusetts entrained for Washington April 17, arriving in Baltimore two days later. In that hostile southern sympathising town, avoided by Lincoln because of its uncertain temper two months before, the Massachusetts troops were met and attacked by a rioting mob of anti-unionists while marching through the streets to transfer from the Philadelphia to the Washington trains. In the exchange of shots several on both sides were killed. The threat to Washington rose higher and higher, cut off from the North.

Such a state of tension ensued that Union Governor Hicks pleaded with the federal government to send no more troops through his unruly city. The remainder of the Massachusetts troops, the 8th, were ordered not to disembark when they arrived before that town by boat

shortly thereafter. Railroad tracks and bridges were torn up to prevent the arrival or departure of additional troops. Washington was completely cut off.

In the meanwhile other troops were already enroute to Washington. The 7th New York entrained from New York City April 19, the day of the Baltimore riots. At Philadelphia they were joined by Samuel R. Curtis, hurrying on his way to Washington from Keokuk at the news of the attack on Sumter. With his military experience and his congressional standing, his aid was eagerly welcomed by Col. Lefferts of the 7th New York. From Philadelphia the regiment traveled by train to Perryville, thence by the Steamship *Boston* to Annapolis. At this point Curtis picks up the story again in his family correspondence.

Off Annapolis Steamer

Boston Apl 22 1861

My dear wife

I wrote you yesterday⁵² just as we were entering the mouth of the Chespeak and just as I was called to a Council of War.

The Col it seems had no definite directions as to his route and called us to consult as to whether he had best to up the Potomac direct to Washington or up the Chespeak to this place. From the dispatches which he had it seemed the idea of the department that our route should be this way & the map also showed this would be the best as the bay is so wide we can avoid batteries on the shore. We passed up therefore without any molestation and find Genl Butler⁵³ of Massachusetts with 700 Volunteers who are laying off in another steamer

I went with the Col and Capt Hamilton⁵⁴ (this latter was formerly an officer of the army and aid for many

⁵²Letter not found.

⁵³A stormy figure in national politics for the next twenty years, a pre-war Democrat, he vigorously supported the war measures of the Republican party, served as a Brigadier and Major General in the federal army, was elected to Congress, 1867-1875, 1877-1879, supported the Radicals in their attacks on Johnson.

⁵⁴Schuyler Hamilton, graduate of West Point, 1837, captain in the Mexican War, he resigned from the army in 1855, enlisted as a private in the 7th New York State Militia April 19. Later Brigadier General of volunteers in 1862, resigned in 1863.

years to Genl Scott now a *private* in this Regiment.) to see Genl Butler He is directed to establish a depot at this place and [he arrived—in pencil] here just in time to save the great and glorious Ship Constitution which was about to be seised by a party on their way from Baltimore to seise her. There was also great danger of the Navy School which is here. We are going to land and make temperary fortifications and try to open the way to Washington.

It seems the railroad from this point to Washington is torn up but it is only about 35 miles and we can walk that if we cannot go by rail.

Of course my military experience and services are in demand and I am busy assisting Col Marshall Lefferts and Genl B F Butler being I suppose you may say on the staff of each.

Just at present I am franking letters to the wives and sweethearts of the men who seem to think I am assigned to this special duty As their letters all report the proceedings of the expedition I consider all the letters on public service reporting for the public good From the number they present I should think they are all newspaper reporters, and from the address of their letters they all seem to be of the upper ten in N York for they direct to 22nd 21st and other of the fine localities of that city.⁵⁵

I have not had my boots off except at Philadelphia since I left home and have since I came on this boat eaten only hard biscuit and one small bit of stake [sic] which I obstained for 25 cents yesterday. But I am in excellent health and spirits and only feel fearful that you and Sadie will not get earlier news from me and may think me among the killed in Baltimore or some other place

Affectionately & everyone
Saml. R. Curtis

Annapolis April 23d 1861

My dear wife

We the 7th New York Regiment and a Regiment from

⁵⁵The 7th New York, due to its flashy gray and blue trimmed uniforms and its aristocratic membership was quickly called "dandies" on their arrival in Washington.

Massachusetts under the command of Genl Butler have landed and are encamped in the beautiful grounds of the Navy yard with the Corps of Midshipmen. I say we because I have been with them laboring and toiling till I am weary and so warm I can hardly write. I have been too busy to do much writing, but no opportunity seems to have offered since I embarked on the Boston⁵⁶ for this place and Washington I do not now much expect to get a letter [?] through, but some opportunity [sic] will no doubt offer, and I will give it a trial. We had a pleasant Steamboat trip to this place Saving the personal inconveniences that one suffers in a boat so crowded you could not get room to lay down and bread of the hardest kind being the only fare. Last night I had the good fortune to get a nights lodging at the elegant [sic] house of Capt. Blake⁵⁷ who is Comt of the Navy Yard. Genl Bridgeman knows therefore that for one night since I left home I have had comfortable quarters.

I hope we will have sufficient transportation to move on tomorrow. We are within about 35 miles of Washington in a straight line, but the means of travel has been cut off and the people through the Country are hostile and arming.

Of course this is just as I expected and if it takes time to fight through I shall also try to patiently and steadily work my way with the troops who are on their way and ready to do their duty. I am in the staff duties of Genl Butler Col Lefferts and the United States just as I can be most useful.

I am in excellent health and about able for all the accidents of the service. I am directing the formation of this depot which I think will become the greatest depot in the country.

My advice included [?] the particular location and arrangement of landing and I was with the first to enter the city.

⁵⁶Embarked at Perryville.

⁵⁷George S. Blake, midshipman 1818, commander, 1847, captain, 1855, and commodore, 1862. Blake was actually superintendent of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, a post he assumed in 1858.

Affectionately & Ever yours

Saml R Curtis

I close suddenly because an express is ready to go

Washington Apl 27. 1861

My dear wife

I arrived here with the N York regiment on Wednesday after a steady foot march of a day and a night assisting to haul canon build railroad and chasing the garilla [sic] forces that we found in our way.

I have visited all the heads of departments and reported everything. I have no news from our Governor⁵⁸ but I have told the different officers Iowa is no doubt ready with her regiment and anxious to furnish several more.

Genl Scott told me he wished I had a Commission as General of Militia. He could at once give me power to give orders which I cannot do without a *Commission* in the Militia service. Ask Genl Reid how I can get such an authority to act A *staff* appointment will not do. I need a commission of Col or Genl the higher the better and by being ordered by the Govr my status would enable me to receive General orders from the department which the General knows I could develop in detail.

I am very well and very busy. Sadie will write more fully than I can.

You may know where the Governor is and can hurry up such instructions from him with some sort of commission that will enable me to procure arms and munitions for the state.

Troops are now rolling into Washington and the anxious people of this city breathe easier.

I return a letter which Sadie sent to my address and which was forwarded to me at this place after going to Keokuk as one from Sam was.

See that PM⁵⁹ and tell him you are authorised to receive and open my letters in my absence. We got your letter last night written the day after I left

⁵⁸Samuel Jordan Kirkwood, governor of Iowa 1859-1863, 1876-1877, U. S. Senator 1866-1867, 1877-1881, was also Secretary of Interior under President Garfield, 1881-1882. Kirkwood issued a call for Iowa troops April, 1861.

⁵⁹Richard McAllister held office until May, 1861.

Sadie is still at the Resides & very well

Affectionately yours

Saml R. Curtis

[Washington] Sunday Apl 28, 1861

My dear wife

Yours of the 20th giving me news of the progress of the volunteering was duly received

The probability is, the required regiment was made up in a few days, and a large reserve remains ready for service if called for. It is easy now to get volunteers and I wish they could be enlisted "during the war" instead of being called out for temporary purposes

Mr. Reside [?] arrived home last night from Arkansas. He says the whole South is united now and fears they will soon attack Washington. He says they have negroes regularly enrolled and mustered in companies and that Jefferson Davis is at Richmond tonight.

Now that we have about 14 thousand troops here and more coming every day we feel rather pleased to hear they are concentrating in this direction where they can be properly met. General Scott is laboring incessantly and his aids also seem busy in keeping pace with the mighty movement surrounding them. A detachment of the N. York regiment which had been left came up the Potomac today; so we now have two routes open, and *our regiment* (you see I claim kindred) has the right to claim the honor of opening both routes to the Capitol. The 7th is the pet of the City and Country and well it may be, for it is eligently equipped and very perfect in drill.

Govr Grimes⁶⁰ is here. He does not tell me what for but Sam writes me that the Burlington people are trying to get Burlington made the rendezvous and he may have come here for that purpose. If it be true, it is a small potatoe business. I recommended the Governor to rendezvous the troops at Eddyville so they could readily move East by Burlington or South East by Keokuk—Or act against any

⁶⁰U. S. Senator James W. Grimes, governor from 1854-1858.

Missouri raid on the West part of our Missouri boundary.⁶¹ When I arrived here I found they had directed the muster at Keokuk where it is easily moved but not quite so convenient in all respects. I told the Adjutant General my views which were of course Strategic and properly approved; but so far as the officers here are concerned they say they will defer the matter entirely to the Governor who may be persuaded to change but I trust not in the face of my suggestions.

I have been using my influence to procure a movement down the Mississippi and a large amount of Commissary stores were today ordered to Cairo. There are now more troops *en route* for this City than necessary and as soon as the crisis is passed here I think we may expect more interesting events on the Mississippi where I hope to be posted. The Iowa troops if not already under way to this city may therefore expect to serve in the West; but this is mainly conjecture on my part, being predicated on the fact stated to me by those leading the army that we are sure to have more here than we need if all arrive who are within a few days march of us.

I think the rebils [sic] will recoil before the forces assembling here, but Mr. Reside thinks they will come directly in front of Washington, and commence bombarding the city. A few days will tell the story for I trust we are becoming so strong that if they do not come to us we can go forward to meet them and it would be far better to keep the war in the Seceeded States.

I expected the Resides with Sadie to go with me to church today but a rain came up at the hour and they did not come. I went up to see the Adjutant General in regard to Iowa troops, and he said no tiding from the Governor had yet been received. If the Governor is in Keokuk say this to him, and it would be well to add that the Adjutant General⁶² and Col. Culum Aid to the Lieut. General

⁶¹The Burlington & Missouri Railroad was open to Ottumwa, and the Keokuk and Fort Des Moines Railroad was at Eddyville. The use of the cars was undoubtedly what Curtis had in mind.

⁶²Lorenzo Thomas, graduate of West Point, 1823, served as Assistant Adj. Gen. from 1838 to 1853, except for a period of active duty during the Mexican War. In charge of the Adj. General's office in March, 1861, he was appointed to position in August. Following 1863 he was but nominally in charge of the office. Figured in the Johnson-Stanton quarrel and impeachment proceedings.

assured me they would make no change of orders in regard to the location of the troops without Consulting me. I would also suggest, that as far as convenient, the Government put the troops in buildings furnishing straw beds (single) for the men to lay on. I think it would be proper for our troops as far as possible to have these conveniences; but at the same time they should learn to use the smallest possible amount of equipment.

I am told here that I am named for Commander of the regiment. I would be pleased to be so elected but hope if I am they will have a first rate Lieut Col for I must attend the next Congress to act on the Military Committee where my services are considered of great importance to the army. My feet are sorer this evening than at any time although I have done very little walking today. I have not yet found time to get over to George Town although I have started twice for that purpose.

Sadie is in good health and spirits but Mr. Reside seems so anxious he disturbs the equanimity of the family He talks of taking them out of the City and if he does I shall of course make some other disposition of Sadie. Kiss dear little Carrie for Pa and believe me ever affectionately yours

Saml R Curtis

Washington May 1, 1861

My dear wife

I am very glad to receive my clothes by S. Rankin Esq who arrived safely last night. I had really become rather shabby in my *feelings* if not in appearance.

I will now be able to dress up when I go to call on friends. I think you acted very properly in not sending the trunk. There is no [sic] doing much with papers these times. When the crisis is over here I will go direct home so I can take up the papers about as I left them. The extra session of Congress will not last long so it may be I can be at home a considerable portion of the summer. I remain attached to the Seventh New York Regiment of course doing as I please but apparently very popular in the regiment.

I shall at the same time attend to our Iowa matters as carefully as possible. James' papers were sent forward day before yesterday. Papers for John St——us [?] were ordered yesterday. I suppose Howels P.O. papers were sent some days ago but the matters of Bogata is not yet acted on. I will write Howell as to that very soon.⁶³

I was very much vexed to find that a man by the name of Taylor of Ohio has been appointed Register at Omaha. I have not yet seen the President but feel like giving him my mind on the subject.

The President has not as much Sagacity as I could wish. He is more of a joker than thinker.

I have just received and read yours of the 25th and Henrys of the 18th. You were still ignorant of my way of coming. Since we pressed our way through Maryland a great change seems to be coming over the spirit of their dreams. I hope Maryland will persistently decline the honor of being made the slaughter ground for this eventful struggle. It will be a just tribute to the loyalty of Govr Hix [Hicks]⁶⁴ and probably save this Capitol as the Capitol of the republic even after a final separation [?] of the republic shall be established.

The result in Maryland may be attributed mainly to the prudence energy and success of our landing at Annapolis and successful opening of the way through to Head quarters.

Goodril writes that he wants me to pay Henry Love. Tell him I have no means of any consequence now in N York to draw on and cannot draw till Congress meets—nor then till appropriation can be made. So I cannot pay that note. Besides I have got a judgement deferred on a promise to pay which will come upon me in the form of an execution from Ft Madison if I am not wide awake.

Indeed I am very much embarrassed in regard to several debts and must look out for losses

⁶³James B. Howell, succeeded Richard McAllister as postmaster of Keokuk in May, 1861, served until 1866. Howell later served the unexpired term of James W. Grimes when the latter resigned from the Senate in 1870.

New Granada, later Columbia, had as its Minister George W. Jones of Dubuque, Iowa. Jones, a Democrat, was certain to be replaced. Howell apparently was in hopes that as an Iowan he was eligible for the appointment.

⁶⁴Thomas H. Hicks, governor of Maryland 1857-1861; U. S. Senator 1862-1865.

Sadie was complaining yesterday, but is generally quite well. I expect to meet her and Miss Mary at 5 at the Presidents grounds where the Seventh N York band is expected to perform

I am very well & evg-[?]

Affectionately yours

Saml R. Curtis

War Department

May 7. 1861.

In the absence of regular officers for the purpose the Hon. Col. Samuel R. Curtis of Ioway [sic] late of the U.S. Army, is hereby appointed to muster into the Service of the United States the quota of Militia of the State of Ioway called out under the requisition of the President of the U.S.⁶⁵

He is authorised to take all steps necessary to equip, provisions, and supply these troops till the officers of the several administrative departments can be ordered to relieve him, until which time he will receive, and govern himself, by the instructions these Departments may give.

Simon Cameron

Secy of War

Head quarters Iowa Volunteers

Keokuk May 27. 1861

Genl. L. Thomas

Adt Genl U.S.A.

I wrote you from Des Moines last week saying I had Commenced to muster the 2nd Iowa Regiment. I have now the honor to report that the 1st and 2nd Regiments are here mustered in, and the 3d will be here all of this week.⁶⁶

Your orders to Lieut Chambers⁶⁷ having arrived authorizing him to muster the second call, to avoid confusion, I at

⁶⁵The call for 75,000 ninety day troops of the state militia was issued by Lincoln April 15. Iowa's quota was one regiment. There was a subsequent call for three year troops several weeks later. Three regiments were quickly formed in Iowa to rendezvous at Keokuk May 20.

⁶⁶The 1st Iowa Volunteer Regiment was for 90 days, and was mustered in May 13. The 2nd Iowa Vol. Regt. was for three years, and was mustered in May 27, the date of this letter.

⁶⁷Probably Alexander Chambers, United States Military Academy 1849, later colonel of the 16th Iowa Vol. Infantry, and an appointed Brigadier General.

once relinquished to him the remainder of that duty; but he very ungraciously as I think, declines to recognize my mustering, and in the face of my order from the Secretary of war, persists in mustering over what I have mustered. Of course I have protested against this.

Before his order came to muster the 3 year regiments, I had procured books and blanks of you, 2000 muskets and 80 rounds of Cartridges for two regiments, ordered the cartridge boxes for two regiments at Pittsburg, and rallied the whole force required at this place, where Govr Kirkwood has directed me to take temporary command,

I transmit a request made by the Governor and staff, and that my authority may be enlarged &c recognized at headquarters. If my proceedings be approved, a telegraphic order through me to Lieut Chambers directing his recognition of my acts, would seem necessary to carry forward the complete and early equipment of these troops, and avoid petty conflict of a rightful exercise of discretion. A point so remote as this, must apply to the source of military power, in order to avoid shameful delay. I therefore respectfully request you to direct all the requisite supplies for *three* regiments (inclusive of what has been sent) to be forwarded as the guns were, without the delay of circuitous requisitions. Send Books and blanks from your office.

Ordinance stores for officers and men for 3 regiments (less 2000 guns and cartridge boxes) and when they are not already prepared, let power be given to procure them.

Quartermasters stores including Knapsacks & canteens; and where they cannot be obtained directions to procure them.

Commissary stores. I have ample power granted me in this respect by Col Taylor, but have not acted as Lieut Chambers seems to assume that duty.

The Governor has procured some of the supplies here enumerated, but when they can be exchanged or substituted by Government supplies, the State of Iowa will receive back such as may be unnecessary to the General Government.

Anxious to expedite the enrollment of the Iowa troops with great dispatch, and the least possible trouble to you, let me ask that the duties here invoked be assigned to your asst, Col McDowell,⁶⁸ who assisted in former orders relating to this locality.

I am also authorised to say, two more regiments are enrolled and ready to march to this depot in ten days if it be your pleasure to receive them under the three year call.

I would add that we get good men, and all sorts of provisions are cheaper here than in any part of the country. It is therefore a good healthy rendezvous.

Very Respectfully
Your Obt Sert
Saml R. Curtis
Mustering Officer &c

Head Quarters 2nd Regiment Iowa Volunteers
Keokuk, June 2nd 1861

General Order

No. 3.

The roll calls for duty will be as follows:

Revelie at 5 o'clock a.m.

Breakfast at 6½ o'clock

Surgeons call (For mustering and providing for the sick)
at 7 o'clock

Guard Mounting at 8 o'clock.

Dinner at 12 o'clock M.

Evening Parade at 7 o'clock P.M.

Taps (silence and repose throughout the camp) 10 O'clock.

Drill—

For convenience of supervision while the companies are in quarters, the Regimental and Company drills will habitually be conducted in the portion of the city limits north of Main street except on Sundays and Saturday afternoons. Company and squad drill to be from 5½ o'clock to 6½ A.M. and from 8½ to 11. A.M. Company drills will again commence at 3½ P. M. and be merged into regimental

⁶⁸Irvin McDowell, United States Military Academy 1834, Asst. Adj. General 1847-1861, later a major general of volunteers, 1862.

drill at 4 P.M. to be dismissed at the discretion of the Officer Commanding. The Field and Company Officers will personally supervise and direct the drills and all the members of the regiment are expected to dilligently study and practice the profession they have adopted.

The manual of arms will habitually be that of the musket or heavy infantry as shown in the infantry Tactics of May 1st 1861 page 74 to 88. When for change a commander may desire to teach the light infantry or rifle manual he shall give the caution "As Riflemen."

By order of Saml R Curtis, Co Comdg.
N. P. Chipman Adjutant

Head Quarters 2nd Regt.
Iowa Volunteers
Keokuk June 3. 1861

Hon S Cameron
Secy of War
Dr Sir

It is needless for me to suggest that as far as possible appointments should be made from the graduates of the Military Academy to military positions. Your recent order to Governors in this respect will do good. The constitution of this State intervenes and requires every officers election Still in the volunteers the experienced or educated men who are otherwise qualified are generally preferred. I received the unanimous vote of the first 3 year regiment for Colonel. But beyond this I respectfully suggest that appointments to a prospective increase of the army should be made from those who have become enrolled and now show fitness and fidelity worthy of consideration. Such a rule may have exceptions, but it would help secure good material and give encouragement to those in the service.

I find most of those who fail before the people are pressing their claims before the Department and I very much doubt the propriety before appointing such men to a prospective increase of regulars when the chances are you will neither secure better officers nor better men. You

have gone so far in the volunteer mode of enrollment, and been so successful, I think the [illegible] way will be to mold the volunteers into regulars & retain such as you need as long as circumstances require.

The difference between a volunteer for 5 years and a regular for 5 years would only be in the mode of appointing officers, and this can be so modified as to secure proper places to all the educated material our schools afford.

Very Respectfully
Yr Obt Servt
Saml R. Curtis

[copy]

Keokuk Iowa [sic] June 5. 1861

Major Ebenezer S. Sibley
Acting Quarter Master Genl
Dr Sir

You will recollect that I was authorized by the Secretary of War to procure an outfit for the Iowa troops. The arms and accoutrements have been procured and bills for transportation are presented.⁶⁹ I have turned the main business over to Lieut Chambers mustering officer but I have made some necessary purchases which I think will be aproved and estimate necessary funds as follows

For transportation of arms.....	500.00
Accoutrements	360.00
Storage	50.00
Purchasing of Hay, Straw, Shoes &c....	250.00
Traveling Expenses	760.00
	<hr/>
	\$1320.00

You will oblige me by placing this sum subject to my check in the city of N. York.

Very Respectfully
Your obt Servt
Saml R Curtis

⁶⁹The accoutrements included cartridge boxes, bayonet scabbards, and waist bands. As early as May 20 they were reported to have left Pittsburgh. No tents were reported available in Washington, according to a report of Curtis in the

Keokuk Iowa June 8. 1861

Hon S. Cameron
Secy of War

This will be handed to you by our mutual *friend* Hon Jno. W. Rankin;⁷⁰ who is especially charged with dispatches relating to the equipment of Iowa troops. You will do me a great favor by lending him your reasonable influence, and also do yourself justice towards the bearer your most devoted and efficient Iowa friend.

I will soon have the best drilled regiment in the service: and must have RIFLED muskets for them at an early day, if possible. We have 3 full regiments here and could in ten days have ten more.

The only trouble is *equipment* which I hope to expedite through Mr. Rankins and Col. McAlisters efforts at Head Quarters.

Very Respectfully
Your Obt Sert,
Saml R. Curtis

Head Quarters 2nd Regt Iowa Vols
Keokuk Iowa June 8. 1861

Col J. W. Ripley
Acting Chief Ord Dept.
Dr Sir

I secured the guns and cartridge boxes for two Iowa regiments and hope before this time further supplies from your department have in some way been forwarded as we now have 3 Regiments assembled at this place.

My special desire is to secure rifled muskets in exchange for the smooth muskets as far and as soon as possible. Other states have been more fortunate perhaps because they have been more officious; but my people expect my influence to be at least equal to that of most [?] who never "Set a squadron in the field" or had the honor of

Keokuk *Daily Gate City* May 15. On May 21, 2000 muskets arrived, reportedly from the St. Louis Arsenal, all smooth bores, altered to be fitted with percussion caps. These inferior weapons, the *Gate City* observed, "will answer for drilling and other purposes and are a heap sight better than nothing."

⁷⁰A former law partner of Curtis.

a personal acquaintance with most of the Government officers.

This will be handed to you by a special friend Hon J. W. Rankin who goes East to assist in collecting and forwarding our Iowa equipment. Let us have at least my Regiment armed with our best patterns of muskets.

Very respectfully

Your obt Servt

Saml. R. Curtis

Col 2d Regt Iowa Vols

[copy]

Head Quarters Iowa troops
Keokuk June 8 1861

Genl L. Thomas

Adt Genl U.S.A.

Dr Sir

Three regiments each over a thousand strong are now assembled here, and earnestly and anxiously awaiting Complete equipment. I command the 2nd (The first for 3 years) and it is already pretty well advanced in company and battalion drill.

By your order No. 15 there is allowed to each regiment one asst quartermaster, one asst. surgeon, and 2 lieutenants to a company. The regiments are much larger than those we had in Mexico, and I think we will need the same number of officers we had then, i.e. 2 surgeons, 1 quartermaster 1 Commissary and 3 Lieutenants to each company. The quarter master and Commissary may both be detached [?] from the Lieutenants and so of the adjutant if we have 3 Lieutenants to the company.

I shall write the Commissary department on the subject of varying the ration to suit the varied localities of our army, which if necessary I hope you will favor as our present ration is not adapted to the abundance of wholesome and cheap food found in the Mississippi Valley

Very Respectfully

Your obt Servt

Saml R. Curtis

[copy]

Keokuk June 9th, 1861

Genl N. Lyon⁷¹

Dr Sir

Yours of the 6th is received. All the Iowa Call 3 regiments each over 1000 strong are here. Two thousand muskets and 40 rounds of cartridges are distributed, I am ready to cooperate therefore although as yet we lack tents haversacks and knapsacks and many other things which we hope soon to receive. But in case of immurgency [sic] command me and I will respond promptly.

In the mean time I am keeping myself advised of movements on the Missouri side. The Unionists are greatly in the ascendancy in Clark county; but at Aetna in the edge of Clark and Scotland there is a nest of traitors that ought to be blown up. Yesterday they had a Union meeting called there and some 200 unarmed Union men assembled to hear a speech. The traitors to the number of 100 came armed with rifles shot guns &c. guns loaded and prevented the speaking. They have a Company commanded by one Capt Duil [?] and they carry the Secession flag. There is also a flag on a high pole in Aetna—red white and red—and a blacksmith manufacturing knives and other weapons. It is a little town of about 200 people. There is also a company of traitors about 40 strong at Edina. The Union men want some kind of military or civil authority with [a few] arms to [go and destroy the rascals.—crossed out] put the rascals down. LaGrange or Alexandria would be a good point for mustering a force and there are thousands of Union men anxious to be enrolled: but *they* have no color of Law while the traitors are organizing under the State law.

Something is needed to countervoid that develish Legislative treason. [by charging Iowa with a breach of state sovereignty—crossed out]

If you had a little force at Alexander or Legrange it could be easily *Augmented from here* so as to operate

⁷¹Nathaniel Lyon, United States Military Academy, 1841, engaged in the Seminole wars, on the coast in California and stationed in Kansas prior to the outbreak of war, was an ardent northern sympathiser. Appointed in charge of the St. Louis Arsenal in February, 1861, he was made a brigadier general in charge of Union forces in St. Louis in May. He was killed in August, 1861, in the bloody battle of Wilson's Creek.

effectually with the Union men and without any fuss on the score of state interference & state pride. [The Union men of Clark could easily raise a considerable force ready to be mustered in if you have authority for so receiving force and they want a hand in wiping out the Squad at Aetna.—crossed out] There is a company of 300 Union men ready for organization in Edina and about 200 in Clark willing to fight and anxious for arms to crush out the rascals. I think a few days would be needed to get the rascals together again at Aetna where they might be surrounded *ala Camp Jackson*.

I am drilling my regiment very hard, and will soon have it in excellent condition as the material cannot be beat. Come up and review us. You will find a hearty welcome, and it will give encouragement to my efforts in advancing organization discipline and drills. [I expect a class mate of mine A Kean will have command [of] the 3d Regiment so you may soon count on fine backing by pretty well drilled troops from Iowa—crossed out]

Very truly yours

Saml R Curtis

[copy]

Col 2nd Iowa Vols

Head Quarters Department of the West,
St. Louis Arsenal, June 12th 1861⁷²

To Col S. R. Curtis
Keokuk, Iowa

A terrible secession movement, headed by Gov. Jackson, has commenced

I want you to come at once, with all the force you can command, to Hannibal, Mo. and move over the road from there to St. Josephs and put down the traitors every where on both sides of the road, and if possible, strike down upon Lexington

N. Lyon

Brig Gen U.S. Vols
Commanding

[copy]

⁷²General Lyon was on the point of setting out on an expedition up the Missouri River to drive Price and the Southern forces out of the northern portion of the State.

Col. Curtis—

St. Joseph, June 18, 1861.⁷³

Dear Sir: The undersigned, citizens of Missouri, fully aware of the delicate duties enjoined upon you, as the military commander of this post, and feeling a deep solicitude for the preservation of as much peace and quietness among the people in the surrounding country, as the extraordinary circumstances which environ us will allow and in further view of the arrests already made by you; and that the public mind is greatly excited. Men have left their homes, business of every character is paralyzed and apprehensions entertained that the arrests made by you, in discharge of your military duty are to be indiscriminate and against those who entertain southern sentiments, as well as those found in armed organization against the Government of the United States. We, therefore, respectfully ask that you will communicate to us your views upon this subject; hoping and believing that it will have the effect of quieting the public mind, and allow the farmers to return to their homes, and quietly attend to their farms and gather their harvest which is now ripe and suffering for the want of reapers.

We have the honor to be, Very Respectfully,

Austin A. King

Silas Woodson

J. M. Bassett,

H. M. Vories,

Jas. Craig

R. M. Stewart

Camp Lyon, Near the City of St. Joseph⁷⁴

June 21, 1861.

Messrs. Austin A. King, and others—

Gentlemen: Your note of the 18th has been received, and I embrace the very first leisure moment to reply there-

⁷³Printed in the *St. Joseph Daily Journal*, June 22, 1861.

⁷⁴*Ibid.* A Confederate flag had been raised in St. Joseph, a Union flag hauled down and torn to shreds; a railroad bridge was discovered on fire, and the suspected parties arrested, found to be secessionists; two men were arrested and charged with membership in a military drill company marching under the Confederate banner, using swords taken from the government arsenal at Liberty, Missouri. The Secessionist friends in St. Joseph had also secured a hasty Common Council ordinance against the raising of flags in the city, apparently designed to prevent a federal flag from being flown.

to. In regard to my mission here, I have to say that I am sent here by my Government and your Government to support and sustain the supremacy of the constitution and laws of our common Government, the United States of America. Extraordinary efforts have been made to induce our people to embark in a foolish and wicked assault on the Government and laws that protect them. Men are enrolled, mustered, and in arms against their own country, and therefore against the peace of society, and my orders and purpose are to suppress these unnatural belligerents by military force. So far from disturbing peaceable law abiding citizens, it is my desire to protect and shield them from insult, anarchy and oppression. But those who are in arms or hiding, directing and encouraging "secession" and civil war I regard as enemies of our country, and they will be pursued with all calamities of civilized warfare.

It is difficult to distinguish between those who enrolled under former laws with no view of rebellion and those who are recently enrolled with the avowed purpose of cooperating with secession armies, but I will of course endeavor to guard the innocent men when found associated with rebels if they promptly take oath of allegiance, and immediately and publicly withdraw from such associations. While it is my painful duty to carry forward the aims and emblems of National power against persons we have before regarded as citizens and friends, I will rejoice to see them surrender their arms, return to their allegiance and unite with us in sustaining a flag that our fathers unfurled, our country maintains, and the world continues to respect and honor.

I hope we of this generation may be equal to the occasion and transmit the blessings of liberty to succeeding generations.

Uniting with you in sympathy with those who innocently suffer from the accidents and havoc of war, I am, very truly and respectfully

Your ob't Servant,
Sam'l R. Curtis
Colonel Commanding

Hail and Farewell!

The Methodist Protestant Church in Iowa

BY R. E. HARVEY

The passing from view of the Methodist Protestant Church by the Methodist Unification of 1939,¹ which mingled its members with their co-religionists much as our tributaries go to swell the volume of our flanking waterways, calls for some extended notice, especially as no connected account of their doings in Iowa has heretofore appeared in type.

Since this particular corps of the Church Militant was formed prior to the earliest settlement of Iowa, it is only necessary to note here that it was but one of several other denominational separations from the parent Methodist Episcopal Church which took place in the fore and middle part of the nineteenth century. The separation and formation of the Methodist Protestant Church as a distinct denomination was the aftermath of long and strenuous efforts on the part of certain elements, styling themselves "Reformers," to effect modifications of sundry features they considered autocratic in the policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the second and third decades of the last century. Failing in their efforts, which were climaxed at the Baltimore General Conference of 1828, the revisionists finally organized themselves as a separate and distinct denomination in November, 1830, under the name of The Methodist Protestant Church.²

That their reforms were not too drastic, and that their attachment to the main tenents of the Methodist faith was strong, is the evidence of the name chosen, a name which likewise indicated a major measure in the reforms adopt-

¹The union of the three branches of the Methodist Church was ratified in a special convention held in Kansas City, in May, 1939. By this act the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and the Methodist Protestant Church were united again as they had not been since 1830.

All statements of fact concerning the history of Methodist Protestantism in Iowa are based upon the journals and minutes of the Iowa and North Iowa Conferences of that church. Typescript copies of these minutes are in the Iowa Department of History and Archives, while the original long-hand journals are deposited in the library of Iowa Wesleyan College, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa.

²Cf. Ancil H. Bassett, *History of the Methodist Protestant Church*, Ch. 22; Mathew Simpson, *Cyclopedia of Methodism embracing sketches of its rise, progress, and present condition*. . . . (Phil. 1880 rev. ed.

ed: the abolition of the episcopacy. Another major objective of the Reform group found in the new constitution adopted by the General Conference of the new church in 1830 was one which had been a bitter point of controversy during the preceding decade: the granting of equal representation to laity and ministry in Annual and General Conferences, the governing bodies of the church. With the elimination of the bishops and the presiding elders as head administrative officers of the church, their places were filled by an officer known as the President of the Annual Conference, who shared the appointive and administrative functions with Stationing and Districting committees. In addition the new constitution invested local Societies—Classes—with great leeway in determining conditions of membership.³

The new denomination attained and maintained considerable strength in the older states of the East, where the controversy first raged. But in Iowa and in many of the western territories a large foothold was never secured. The parent Methodist Episcopal Church, on the other hand, entered the Black Hawk Purchase with the first wave of immigration, followed the advancing tides of settlement and established itself firmly in almost every community. It was possessed of missionary support and outside financial aid, which although scanty at best, supplemented the meagre support derived from struggling pioneer congregations sufficiently to afford the itinerant ministers a living wage. Lacking such financial and numerical aid, and forced to rely almost solely upon its own struggling pioneering membership for support, the younger denomination contended with such adverse conditions that its very existence through a full century bears eloquent testimony to the sacrificial valor of both clergy and laity.⁴

Although the initial entry of the Methodist Protestant

³*Ibid.*

⁴Rev. W. H. Betz, "One Hundred Years of the Methodist Protestant Church in Iowa" (Ms.). The Rev. Betz, of Keswick, Iowa, formerly held offices as President and Secretary of the Methodist Protestant conference, is now a retired minister of the Iowa-Des Moines Conference of The Methodist Church.

The "itinerant" minister was the same as the old "Circuit Rider," one who traveled over a number of appointments in his assigned charge.

Church into Iowa Territory is not exactly known, it is highly probable that the first minister of that faith was the Reverend Oliver Atwood, who located in Muscatine County, near Moscow, in the summer of 1837. Obligated to support himself and family by his own labors, he did not preach extensively during the short period of his sojourn. In September, 1838, while returning home from a summer's employment, he was murdered, as was supposed, by Sauk Indians, in reprisal for the slaying of a brother of Chief Poweshiek by a frontier ruffian. The body of the Reverend Atwood was not found for over a week after his death, which occurred near the village of Downey. As if in poetic recognition of the tragic end of this pioneer clergyman, a flourishing church of the Methodist Protestant denomination subsequently arose there and continues to this day.⁵

The first organized "Class" of this church is claimed by Washington County for a society formed in English River Township in 1842 by Joseph Hamilton, pioneer physician and preacher. But as the vanished town of Winchester, in Van Buren County, laid out February 29, 1840, boasted a Methodist Church from its founding, we may safely assume from the prominence of this place in the early annals of the church that this was of that denomination. There were other societies or classes formed in scattered communities along the eastern borders of Iowa within the next several years, but we have no definite data concerning them save the establishment of the church in Iowa City, the new Capitol of the Territory of Iowa, in 1841.⁶

There, taking advantage of the legislative proffer of a quarter block of lots to each church that would erect thereon a suitable building for religious or educational purposes, the Reverend John Libby organized a Methodist Protestant society, May 4, 1841. The very next day con-

⁵*History of Cedar County* (Western Historical Co., 1878), 370-371.

⁶*History of Washington County* (Union Historical Co., 1880), 591 *History of Van Buren County*, (Western Historical Co., 1878), 503

Winchester, located in the northeastern part of Van Buren County, near the present villages of Long View and Stockport, declined when the railroad was located through Stockport. A church building and a school house bearing the ancient name still stand on the abandoned site.

struction was started on a two story brick building, Iowa City's first church structure. The corner stone of this then pretentious building, was laid May 13, 1841, with Governor Robert Lucas as the principal speaker. Rapidly rushed to completion after this ceremony, the building was said to have had a high basement, "with a long flight of stairs from the avenue." In the subscription lists circulated for the cost of its erection, appeared one—to us—unusual item, conveying legal title to a "Slip," or pew, in the house of worship to each donor of fifty dollars. A twenty-five dollar pledge gave ownership to "half a Slip."⁷

As one of the first public buildings in the new capital, and probably the first brick structure in the city, the new church of the young society served to accommodate in its auditorium most of the large public gatherings of the infant city. Besides these it housed various educational enterprises, such as "Dr. Reynold's Select School," Iowa City's first public school; the academic department of Iowa City College, a project of the rival Methodist Episcopal Church. A free school for the blind, a precursor of our noble institution at Vinton, likewise met within its walls. And surely not least, an ambitious Methodist Protestant enterprise in education had its beginnings there.⁸

The Iowa City church itself was never very strong, indeed was not always able to support a minister. That even the building program was begun upon prospects that only slowly materialized is suggested in the fact that its founder, John Libby, served in 1842 as the pastor of the newly formed Universalist Church in Iowa City.⁹

But the next year, 1843, brought to Iowa City as pastor of the struggling church one of those unsung preacher-teacher heroes who did so much to engraft a universal educational system upon Iowa, the Reverend William K. Talbott. Quickly opening a "Common School" in Me-

⁷Clarence Ray Aurner, *Leading Events in Johnson County History*, (Western Historical Press, 1912, 2 vols.), 1, 295-297.

⁸*Ibid.*, 278-279.

⁹*Ibid.*; In 1843 the Methodist Episcopal Church of Iowa City reported 300 members. Simpson, *op. cit.*, 480.

chanics Hall, Talbott added thereto a preparatory department from which flowered a college, held in the brick church building. Designed to "afford the youth of Iowa City facilities for completing their education without leaving home," there was attached to this "college" a theological department to assist young men preparing for the ministry. It was the first of such institutions in Iowa.¹⁰

The ambitious enterprise, in a town of less than 1000, had the hearty support of the local church in addition to Mr. Talbott and other Methodist Protestant societies in the Conference. Among the most prominent of the local backers were the Snyder brothers, Thomas and William B. Formerly of Cincinnati, where they had been leading Reformers, they were now merchants of the new capital city. William became not only an instructor in the nascent school of the prophets, but as editor of *The Colporteur*, launched Iowa's first religious periodical. This attractive little monthly, the profits of which were devoted exclusively to religious education, occasions regret, when the only surviving copy is inspected, that due to malnutrition the infant publication survived but half a year.¹¹

That the sponsors of the college and seminary were in earnest is shown in their selection to the headship of their school of an outstanding churchman of the period, a renowned pulpit orator and polemic, Christian author and educator, the Reverend Nicholas Snethen. Snethen first attained distinction as a Methodist Episcopal clergyman, in which church he rose to high rank as legislator and champion of that faith in its obscure and oft derided early days. As a traveling companion of Bishop Francis Asbury, he was often deputed to preside at Conferences which the latter was unable to attend himself. After a quarter of a century of such employments and honors, he sacrificed both position and prestige to espouse the cause of Reform, and gave the remaining years of his life to the advocacy of a more liberal type of church government. As a leading advocate and defender of the reforms

¹⁰Aurner, 278-279.

¹¹*Ibid.*

which produced the schism in the church in 1828-1830, he naturally followed the dissenters into the formation of the Methodist Protestant Church. Now, at the age of seventy-five, with the experience of several previous ventures in denominational education behind him, he threw himself with the ardor of youth into the task of creating a theological seminary in what had been an unexplored wilderness less than ten years before.¹²

The seminary, named in honor of its venerable head, was incorporated with a board of trustees consisting of William Patterson, John N. Coleman, William B. Snyder, E. Metcalf, L. S. Swafford, and John Conn. Its prospectus listed a faculty which included the Reverend Snethen as president, William K. Talbott, J. N. Coleman, Ward D. Talbott, and W. B. Snyder, professors, the last of whom was styled "Professor of Sacred Music." A charter was secured from the territorial legislature.¹³

Immediately accepting the call, Reverend Snethen hastened to Iowa City to survey his field of labor. Remaining but a short time, during which he acted as chaplain at the opening session of the first state constitutional convention, October 7, 1844, he soon departed for his Ohio home, promising to return whenever a class of six theologues could be assembled. Enroute to Ohio he visited the North Illinois Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, in which Conference their co-religionists in Iowa were then included. From this body he secured an endorsement for his seminary, whose objectives, as recorded in the Conference journal, were "to educate gratuitously, the children of itinerant preachers and ministers of the Methodist Protestant Church, as well as young men who are desirous of preparing for the Gospel ministry." The Illinois brethren also enacted a precise set of rules for the government of the seminary's officers, outlined courses of study, and ordered that subscription books in support of the school should be presented at

¹²Cf. Dictionary of American Biography, 17, 382; Simpson, *op. cit.*; Bassett, *op. cit.*, 401-408.

¹³Aurner, 1, 279.

every quarterly conference throughout the district.¹⁴

Nicholas Snethen spent the following winter in his Ohio home, preparing lectures, text books, and other material. In the spring he set out once more for Iowa City, stopping on the way to visit his children in Princeton, Indiana. There he fell sick and there he died, May 30, 1845.¹⁵

Although his loss was a severe blow to the Iowa institution, whether his survival would have insured permanence for the school is problematical. An epidemic of what might be termed "collegitis" swept Iowa City in the first years of the 1840's. Half a dozen academies, seminaries, colleges and universities sprang up where one first class institution of higher learning would have been hard pressed for adequate support. In the rivalries and enmities consequent upon such competition, the entire congeries "fizzled each other out," and from the wreckage there temporarily emerged "Iowa City University." To it Professor Talbott and his staff attached themselves on the demise of Snethen Seminary, which Talbott had kept alive for a year at his own expense.¹⁶

The decline of the educational enterprise had its counterpart in the career of the local church. Its pretentious house of worship was in a very few years sold by creditors¹⁷ under circumstances which led to ecclesiastical and civil litigation that spun out for over thirty years. Long before its conclusion the Society, with a membership reduced to ten, pled inability to support a minister, and vanished from the rolls of the church.

While the enterprise and energy the young denomination displayed in its Iowa City projects deserves nothing but commendation, the wisdom of its venture into denominational education in a territory where the church even two years later had less than six churches and 300 adherents, and no formal church government control, can be gravely questioned.

¹⁴Bassett, *loc. cit.*: In the Methodist Protestant terminology "District" comprised the area in which an Annual Conference functioned. In other branches of the Methodist church, and to-day, it applies to the group of charges served by the Presiding Elder or District Superintendent.

¹⁵See fn. 12.

¹⁶Aurner, 1, 280; *Journal of the Iowa Conference, Methodist Protestant Church*, 1846.

¹⁷Among whom the most prominent were Thomas and William Snyder. See

ORGANIZING THE CHURCH

There had been, of course, considerable development in the Methodist Protestant Church in Iowa during the years since 1837.¹⁸ But up to the time of the struggles of the Snethen Seminary and the legal complications involved in the property of the church, each Society or Class in the territory continued to worship and to exercise its religious functions in more or less splendid isolation, although nominally under the administration of the North Illinois Conference.

An important step in the history of the church in Iowa was marked in 1846 in the following long-hand entry made in a huge leather-bound ledger, bearing on its outside cover the pasted legend, "Vol. I, Minutes of the Iowa Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church."

October 13th, 1846; nine o'clock A. M. By virtue of the action of the General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, held in Cincinnati in May, 1846, A. D., the following named brethren, ministers and lay delegates in the Methodist Protestant Church in the Territory of Iowa, met at the State [sic] House in Iowa City, to organize a Conference in the Methodist Protestant Church, viz: William Patterson, George L. Pierson, Robert Miller, Oliver W. Kellogg and Alexander Caldwell, Ministers: Preston J. Friend and Henry Nesmith, Lay Delegates.

William Patterson and Henry Nesmith were elected temporary chairman and secretary respectively, After being opened by reading a portion of scripture, an address to the throne of grace was offered by the Reverend William H. Collins, of the Illinois Annual Conference District. Apparently acting as a coach from the older established Conference to assist the new organize itself, Collins was first elected "honorary member" of the new Iowa Conference, and served on most of the important committees, besides acting as mediator in a futile effort to untangle the debts and difficulties of the Iowa City church and seminary.

Conference *Journal* for 1846 for detail of controversy.

Because of an explicit omission in the Discipline of the Church at the time the lot was acquired in 1841, the church compromised its suit in 1879 for \$300.

¹⁸The minutes of the first Conference shows church activities in three circuits for the preceding year. How much longer many groups in these circuits had been formed is unknown.

The numbers of this first conference were swelled the next day by the addition of George Davison, lay delegate from the Burlington Mission, while Professor Talbott was recognized as a ministerial member and Levi Freese was admitted to the itinerancy with deacon's orders.¹⁹ Kellogg and Caldwell were advanced at this time from deacons to elders. On the third day W. H. Barnes was received as a minister, but the application of Robert Douthitt for admission to the itinerancy was rejected. A similar request by I. (or J.) Pardoe was "indefinitely postponed," a parliamentary device by which the matter was shelved for that year. Among the rules of order which this tiny group framed and adopted with the dual object of fencing the dignity of the Chair and expediting conference business, was one which could very profitably be observed today. Although adopted in an epoch of much sectarian controversy, this rule prohibited the utterance of offensive reflections upon any religious body whatsoever.

The Iowa Annual Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church was permanently organized with the election of William Patterson as president and Abraham L. Gray secretary. Robert Miller and Henry Nesmith were appointed to the "Stationing Committee" which in conjunction with the president, fixed the appointments of the ministers of the conference. The appointments were ordered read a day previous to adjournment, affording dissatisfied brethren opportunity to adjust matters with the Committee. If they failed in this they had right of

¹⁹The lowest order in the Methodist ministry is the "Local Preacher" who is unordained, but receives a license to preach for two years, during which time he is on trial. After two years of satisfactory trial he is raised to be deacon, in which capacity he must serve at least two years more. Finally, when he has served two years to satisfaction as a deacon he is then ordained an elder.

The difference between the functions is that while the deacon can perform all the services of the regular ministry, baptism, marriage, etc., he is "not authorized to consecrate the elements of the Communion," or the Lord's Supper. See Simpson, *op. cit.*, 279, 603. The diaconate was abolished in the Methodist Protestant Church in 1874, after discussions and debates ranging as far back as 1861.

Local Preachers could also be laymen who did not seek "Conference membership," but were licensed to use their gifts as a pulpit orator, nominally under the direction of the "preacher in charge" of the Circuit. More often, however, he worked in a free lance capacity. These members of the clergy were eligible to ordination after a longer period of service than those received into Conference ranks, and often not required to pursue Conference studies. The Methodist Episcopal Church for a number of years prior to 1939 classified the more talented Local Preachers as "Accepted Supplies," which entitled them to appointment as pastors of minor charges and made them eligible for retirement pensions. This regulation obtains in the united Methodist Church.

appeal to the Conference, which body, after full explanations from both sides should decide the question without debate. Refusal to abide by these decisions carried the penalty of two years suspension from the itinerant rolls.

The scattered nature of the membership of the church, a condition to be expected in a new pioneering country, is accurately shown in the rules for a "system of Government for Home Missions" adopted by the conference: When three or more societies contain "in the aggregate not less than thirty members," they shall be formed into a mission. Whenever any Home Mission shall have forty members "it shall be constituted a Circuit; or if in Town or City, having but one appointment, it shall number thirty Members in order to be entitled to hold quarterly Conferences . . . and when it shall have sixty members it shall become a Station; and when a Home Mission becomes a Circuit or Station, it shall be subject to the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church. . . ."

The application of this rule in the report of the committee grandiloquently entitled the Committee on Boundaries, Wants and Necessities, likewise revealed the scattered nature of the church:

Iowa City Circuit; a three weeks circuit with sixty members, it embraced Johnson, Washington, Louisa and Iowa Counties, and as much of Cedar County as lay west of the Cedar River. One preacher wanted.

Tipton Circuit; a three weeks circuit also, had sixty members likewise, and included "Muskatine," "Lynn" and that part of Cedar County east of the Cedar River. One preacher wanted.

Winchester (Van Buren County) Circuit, four weeks circuit, eighty-six members, it had no definite boundaries. Two preachers wanted.

Dubuque Mission, no members reported, this mission covered Dubuque, Jackson, and Jones Counties. One preacher wanted.

Oskaloosa Mission, twenty members reported, it comprised Mahaska, Wapello, Davis, Appanoose and Kiskokosh [Monroe] counties. One preacher wanted.

Despite the small membership rolls of the church, it must occasion no surprise that this first session of the new Iowa Annual Conference, meeting in Iowa City, undertook to infuse new life into Snethen Seminary. This Seminary, without a home of its own in 1846 because of the disputed sale of the church meeting house to the Methodist Episcopal Church, was suffering from reports that had "gone forth that [it] has ceased to exist." This the Conference took occasion to deny, although admitting that in October, 1845, with all funds depleted, "the operation of the Seminary on this point became embarrassed, and still remains so embarrassed, that comparatively little at this time is done." The Conference adopted a report, however, which vigorously asserted that the seminary still retained its identity or existence, despite the fact that its faculty was associated with "Iowa University." This in no wise impaired, crippled, or defeated the object of the organization it was claimed.

With the appointment of new trustees and the election of W. K. Talbott as Professor, the report of the board of trustees was ordered published in the church journals and all ministers of the conference urged to act as agents of the college to collect donations for the school. The ill success of these earnest efforts was to be seen in the report of the next annual conference in 1847.

The extent of the financial difficulties of the church, which lay behind the troubles of the educational enterprise, was further shown in the first report of the Conference Steward of those circuits in Iowa then under the North Illinois Annual Conference, a report which bears striking testimony to the devotion of the ministry. Four pastors, reporting on salaries fixed at \$200, \$250, \$280, and \$300 respectively, received in the same order, \$50, \$83, \$96.36, and \$41.50.

How did they live and provide for their families on such mere "token" payments? Many farmed, others taught school, worked at trades, or at common labor; some with a little capital at their command speculated in government land at \$1.25 per acre, living on the unearned

increment when they sold their holdings at a later advance in price, which an incoming population rendered inevitable. That ministers could be devoutly pious while so employed goes without saying, since their most godly lay members were likewise so engaged at their trades, professions, and miscellaneous occupations. But that no preacher could possibly serve such wide parishes in a proper manner while so laden with worldly cares also goes without saying. Moreover, it is apparent that the rapid turnover due to inadequate means of supporting an independent clergy was bound to be calamitous in a ministry so handicapped. That so many persevered in their divine calling throughout life despite such adverse conditions is ample proof that they were "not disobedient to the heavenly vision."

This and nearly all succeeding conferences sought to alleviate these almost intolerable conditions, with what success the records of the church too readily show. The usual method adopted was to urge the circuit officials to fix comfortable salaries immediately upon the arrival of the pastor, apportion the amount to the members, and require quarterly payments upon the same. Instructions, sad to say, more frequently ignored than observed.

Another important duty performed at this first conference, and followed regularly at each succeeding session, was the "passage" or "examination" of the character of each itinerant as a prerequisite to his appointment to a charge. This examination consisted of a series of questions put to the minister himself, and others to the lay delegate, relating to the former's conduct, faithfulness, efficiency, and acceptability in his ministerial duties. This was conducted in open Conference, in full hearing of all curious and sometimes critical spectators, which in a small group could not but result at times in strained relations.²⁰

With the announcements of the Stationing Committee, and the allotment of \$130 as annual payment to President

²⁰See Conference Journals for 1854, 1860, and the 1880's. "Admission to the Itinerancy" constituted election to Conference membership, although the writer believes that in the case of unordained preachers, they were regarded as being on trial until ordination.

Patterson for devoting half his time to district visitation, the session closed with a vote of thanks to the secretary, and prayer by the Reverend Collins. The denomination was now fully organized in the Territory of Iowa.²¹

The Second Annual Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church for the Iowa District convened at Winchester, Van Buren County, September 8, 1847. The attendance was small; only four of the six ministers named the year before were in attendance, Patterson, Miller, Caldwell, and Kellogg, while Henry Nesmith of Winchester and John Hollenbeck of Tipton were the sole lay representatives. The economic pressures of family support may explain the listing of four "Unstationed ministers," and the admission of only one new member to the itinerancy.

The lack of success in instilling new life into the Snethen Seminary from the efforts inaugurated the year before is revealed in the Conference journal comment on the question of passing the character of W. K. Talbott, which was "indefinitely postponed," because he had "left the state, and been absent upward of nine months, leaving Snethen Seminary houseless, without professor, teachers, officers or students." In consequence, this institution, never fully launched, now totally and absolutely disappeared, consigned to the same shades of oblivion that engulfed most of its Iowa City rivals in the field of learning.

Nevertheless, spite the small attendance, a growth of the denomination hoped for is indicated in the adjustment of boundaries announced at the second Conference. Scott and Clinton counties were added to the Tipton Circuit; Winchester Circuit was defined as including the five southeastern counties of the state (Henry, Van Buren, Lee, Louisa, Des Moines); and a new field, called the Fort Des Moines Mission, was laid out covering Lucas, Jasper

²¹Pastors of charges were termed "superintendents" in the earlier years of the Methodist Protestant Church, down to the 1870's. "To be supplied" indicates a charge for which the President must find a pastor. This was usually some Local Preacher who could spare the time from business.

The assignments of this first Conference were: Iowa City Circuit, R. Miller, Supt.; Tipton Circuit, O. W. Kellogg, Supt.; Winchester Circuit, A. Caldwell, Supt.; L. Freese, asst.; Dubuque Mission, to be supplied, the same of the Oskaloosa Mission.

and Polk counties on the east and all territory west to the Missouri River, with no limitations whatsoever on the northern boundaries this side of the Arctic ocean!

Financial support of the clergy, a pressing and a constant problem for the denomination, had not improved during the year. President Patterson reported but \$45.91 received on his allotted \$130, and of the three pastors present, each with a salary fixed at \$200 per year, Miller reported \$24, Kellogg \$50, and Caldwell \$149.26 received. The first year of the new Conference could hardly be pronounced a success, for with the Burlington Mission abandoned, and no report from the Dubuque Mission, the total membership of the church reported was 212, only four more than that claimed twelve months before.

Considerable improvement and an encouraging increase in the ranks of the church could be shown a year later, however, when the Conference assembled at Burr Oak Ridge in Cedar County. In addition to receiving two ministerial recruits from outside the denomination, the Reverend John Rice from the Primitive Methodist Connection—a body of English origin—and the Reverend Charles D. Gray from the Baptist Church, four candidates were admitted to the itinerancy, J. J. Martin, J. L. Frost, Joshua Bowman, and John Huntsman.²² Membership increase of 146 over the year before was a very tangible point of encouragement. In keeping with the enlarged pastoral staff and increased membership, three new charges were blocked out, most of which were revisions of previous circuits or missions.²³ That the young church was aggressive and ready to expand is suggested in the appointment of Freeman Smith as agent for the Methodist Protestant Church in Cedar Rapids. William Patterson continued a third year as President of the Conference, and, it is hoped, receive a more proportionate share of his allotted salary.

²²As a young itinerant "boy preacher," the writer met the widow of the Rev. John Huntsman, then very old and totally helpless, but abounding in prideful memories of those heroic days of Protestant Methodism.

²³Davenport Mission took Scott and Clinton counties from the Tipton Circuit; Bloomington (Muscatine) Mission was restricted to the single county of Muscatine; Des Moines Mission included all territory south of the Des Moines River not otherwise provided for.

The church continued the slow growth of membership during the ensuing year, with 470 being reported to the Annual Conference in 1849. At that time five new charges emerged from the Committee on Boundaries, three carved out of older fields, while the Delaware and the Clayton missions carried the work of the church to the southern border of the Territory of Minnesota.²⁴

Fifteen itinerant preachers appear on the roll for this year, among the newcomers were several who in the years to come played prominent parts in the progress of the church. One of the newly listed ministers was J. K. Dawson who was honored at this session of the Conference in being elevated to the presidency, although in his absence the reliable Patterson occupied the chair.

Another favorable sign of the growth of the denomination was the final report of the Stationing Committee which was able to provide preaching services for all but one field, the new Clayton Mission. Only two preachers were without place, J. J. Martin at his own request, and Joshua Bowman, left in the hands of the president. And then in 1849, church property found its first mention, Winchester reporting a brick parsonage of unstated cost or value.

At Winchester again the next year, 1850, the Conference paused to mourn the death of their first colleague, Oliver W. Kellogg, and returned to their first love and elected William Patterson President for the coming year. Strenuous efforts were put forth to better the President's financial support, efforts regularly made and as often regularly disappointing. Whether because of a local growth in numbers, or the hope of regaining lost prestige is uncertain, but Iowa City was separated from the Iowa City Circuit this year and constituted a mission, comprising solely of the town and township. Zenas Covell was assigned for intensive cultivation of this more limited field.

Meeting in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church of

²⁴Bloomfield Circuit, comprised Davis County and that part of Wapello south of the Des Moines River; Jasper Mission included that County and Marion, north of the Des Moines River; Marion Mission consisted of that county south of the Des Moines and adjacent regions south and west.

Oskaloosa in 1851, the Conference report showed a lay membership of the Methodist Protestant Church in Iowa after five years of 593. Nearly one-half of this number, however, belonged to the Winchester Circuit, now reduced to Lee and Jefferson counties plus those portions of Van Buren and Henry lying between the Des Moines and Skunk rivers. Whereas but five stations existed five years before, seventeen were listed in 1851, which, however, was only an increase of two in as many years. All the new charges were formed by a division of the older circuits. This demand for better pastoral service the Conference was certainly unable to meet. Only eight charges were furnished with superintendents, an unduly large proportion of the preachers requested to be left without appointments. No explanation is offered for this condition of things, but an earnest appeal was framed and forwarded to the Illinois Conference for the loan of some of their unemployed ministers, suggesting a financial inability to support an independent ministry as a major cause.

SECTIONAL DIVISION

By 1850, the church was confronted with other problems in addition to those of sustaining a scattered membership in rural communities. The rising tide of sectional controversy which arose over the admission of California into the Union and in the debates over the fugitive slave code proposals in the last years of the 1840's was reflected in the minutes of the Iowa Conference for 1849. In the election of delegates to the General Conference, the supreme legislative and executive tribunal of the Church, which was to meet the next spring in Baltimore, Maryland, the Iowa Conference instructed William Patterson and Freeman Smith, its ministerial and lay delegates respectively, to use all their influence to prevent a division of the denomination.²⁵

²⁵The agitation over slavery figured in every General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church from 1838 onward, usually ending in compromise measures which referred the matter to each Annual Conference. By 1850 the issue had become intense. The Methodist Episcopal Church had been rent in twain over this question in 1844. The debates in the Iowa Conference were but extremely faint echoes of the General Conference debates.

The question was not solved then, and it was almost impossible to keep it out of religious discussions that followed. It appeared again in the Iowa Annual Conference of 1851 in a resolution offered by J. K. Dawson that prohibited any test for membership in local classes other than "a knowledge of sins forgiven through the merits of Jesus Christ." This seems aimed at the practice of excluding Negroes from church membership. After much debate, however, the proposal was indefinitely postponed, leaving the problem to grow more acute.

The slavery controversy remained quiescent in the Iowa Conference reports during the two succeeding years, to reappear again three years later, in 1854. At the Winchester meeting of that year the stormy debates of the 1854 General Conference had their echoes in a resolution offered by the Reverend Benn, and adopted by the Iowa Conference: "Resolved that American Slavery is a great moral evil, and that we are determined to use our influence for its Suppression, so far as it does not interfere with the political harmony and union of these States." A conservative opposition which had large support at that time—the time of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and Squatter Sovereignty.

The next year, when the long desired reinforcements from the North Illinois Conference, headed by the Reverend W. W. Paul, applied for reception by transfer, the subject flared again in a series of drastic resolutions offered by the Reverend Paul the day following his admission into the Iowa Conference. The first proposed to eliminate the word "White" from the constitution of the church, as far as the Iowa Conference was concerned, and the others were fully in keeping therewith. The constitutional proposal was ruled out of order by the president, and the rest were indefinitely postponed. One of Mr. Paul's companions, along with a certain candidate for admission on trial, were rejected for their extreme views, apparently on the slavery issue, since the conference felt constrained to publish a statement that no man was excluded from their ranks on account of anti-slavery

sentiments. But the question of slavery would not lie, as shall been seen in the records of the church for 1858.

In the meantime, other matters of moral or social nature began to appear in the minutes of the Annual Conference. The 1852 Conference session saw the rise of the temperance question. Then as ever afterward, the church was favorably inclined toward a legal prohibitory law regulating the liquor traffic; thus they pledged their unanimous support in "every proper way" to a suppression of the evil in 1852. Another matter which periodically crept into the conference journals also arose in 1852 when the conference very emphatically negatived a proposition to ban the use of tobacco during conference hours.

Despite these disturbing controversies, the church showed progress. In 1854, at Winchester, the conference elevated Francis Kirkpatrick to the presidency, a man who had been received on trial barely five years before, but now was recognized as one of its most prominent ministers. He continued to be such whether in or out of the presidency for the rest of his career. At this 1854 session the vast influx of the Scandinavian peoples into the central west of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois was recognized by the appointment of John G. Schmidt and an assistant as missionaries to the Scandinavian peoples, as he was "able to speak their language." The conference also petitioned the General Board of the church for a missionary to inaugurate work in the fast growing river towns.

Although the state was enjoying lush boom years in emigration, both along the river and inland, the financial problems of the Iowa Conference clergy remained grave. In an effort to once more evolve a plan for a more successful support of the ministry, it was proposed at this Conference that an allowance of \$100 per annum be fixed for single preachers, with room, board, and washing in addition; married preachers were allowed \$200, plus \$20 for each child, besides house rent, table allowance and fuel. Quarterly Conferences were required to furnish Conference with an estimate of the salary for the ensuing

year as a condition for having a preacher appointed. Failure to make prompt provision for the payment of this sum became a lawful excuse for a pastor to leave his circuit.

The virtues of a denominational education were recognized once more in the acceptance of the Conference's second educational enterprise, a two story brick building called Ashland Academy, located at Ashland, Wapello County. The building and 17 lots in that small town had been bought by a group of Methodist Protestants earlier in the year, and believing that "whereas, the M. P. Church needs an institution of learning to promote her religious & education interests, & the interest of education generally," this group of ministers and laymen presented the academy to the Conference, which in accepting the undertaking changed the name to Seminary. Together with improvements and repairs, the conference assumed a debt of \$1287.93.²⁶

The Seminary "was opened on the 10th day of July last, under the Superintendence of Rev. Lewis Dwight, and has continued 8 weeks, half of one session. The sum due the Principal is \$66.66 dollars," was the report of 1854. The Reverend Dwight was formerly an instructor in Asbury Methodist Episcopal College, Greencastle, Indiana. To aid in the financial support of the newly acquired seminary, all pastors were appointed as its collecting agents.

This venture in higher education proved no more successful than had its predecessor, the Snethen Seminary, in 1846. Serious trouble was experienced shortly afterwards due to the defalcation of the Principal of the Ashland Seminary, with unstated, perhaps unknown, sums of tuition receipts. New leadership was shortly found, however, and a leading minister appointed financial agent at a salary of \$300, the money to be paid out of funds collected. But the hope thus engendered soon died.

The strongest increase in church membership yet noted

²⁶Ashland, now an abandoned town, was located on the SE¼ of Sec. 9, Washington Twp., Wapello County. Eldon succeeded to Ashland when the railroad passed through the former place. The seminary building was a brick two story structure, 30x50 feet, and "fitted up for both school and church use." See *History of Wapello County*, 1901, 139; *History of Wapello County* (S. L. Clarke Publ. Co., 1914).

took place in the mid fifties. Although almost stationary in total enrollments during the first five years, the lists showed but 593 in 1851, at the end of the sixth year, but at the end of the next two years 1510 were reported. The Winchester circuit report gave the curious item of forty "male" members, apart from other statistics, probably an attempted emphasis upon the masculine voting prerogative then in force in the Methodist Protestant Church.²⁷

Forty ministerial names appeared on the Conference roll, here first recorded, although four names were stricken out for various reasons and two referred for judicial investigation. Twenty-two lay delegates were in attendance, and pastoral appointments were made for thirty charges. This flourishing condition of the church was most encouraging. The improvement in the church rolls had its influence on the support of the ministry in 1855-1856. At the 1856 conference some reported having been paid in full, and most received fifty per cent or more of the amounts promised.

The East Des Moines charge, for long a special interest of the church, previously begun by the Reverend J. Q. Hammond who went from house to house with his services, was now manned by William Remsburg. Destined to be an honored and sainted veteran of the church, Remsburg, received in that year on trial, together with his wife, began the first of many years of valuable service rendered Iowa's capitol city, besides laboring on other important fields in the conference at large.

The debates on the colored question which had appeared in the Annual Conference record since 1849 led finally to a decision in 1857 whereby colored persons were pronounced eligible for Church membership, dependent upon the decision of the individual Classes or Societies. Though the slavery question was thus being settled in Iowa, it was far from being true of the church as a whole. The Iowa Conference selected delegates to attend the Convention called to meet in Springfield, Ohio, in November, 1857,

²⁷Women were granted voting privilege in November, 1862. This change came in the M. P. Church much in advance of some of the more prominent denominations, the church serving in this and in many other ways as a form of an experiment station for the churches in general.

where the slavery question was to be considered. This Convention resulted in another a year later in Cincinnati, where it was practically determined that organic unity with the Conferences in slaveholding territory had become impossible.²⁸

In this divisive movement the Iowa Conference went along with its sister Free States, instructing its delegates to the Cincinnati Convention in 1858 to co-operate in forming an anti-slavery church. Even so, as seen in the debates of the Iowa Conference, there was a color line drawn across the state, for southern Iowa was largely peopled by emigrants from southern and border states, while the northern portions represented eastern and central state populations.

This, plus the difficulties of travel to attend Annual Conference due to the expansion of settlement and the areas served by the Church, and with several circuits in southern Minnesota asking the Iowa Conference to take them into its already wide area, produced a unanimous request addressed to the General Conference asking for a geographical division of the original Conference.

Both the denomination and the conference separations took place in 1858. The Annual Conference session of that year, held at Genoa Bluffs, Johnson County, thus had two questions of division to consider.

With twenty-seven ministers present, and twelve "entirely absent," and with twenty-five lay delegates, the Conference proceeded to divide itself upon an East and West line. Beginning "North of the south line of the first tier of townships south of the first principal correction line, running due east and west across the State, and at the line between Poweshiek and Jasper counties, turning south one tier of townships and thence west to the Missouri River" the division leaves the modern reader somewhat confused. More understandably to modern perception, the boundary started on the Mississippi River on the south side of the town of LeClaire, setting off the southern three tiers of counties in the state, with Musca-

²⁸W. W. Sweet, *Methodism in American History*. Simpson, *op. cit.*; Bassett, *op. cit.*

tine County and the southern tier of townships in Scott, Cedar, Johnson, and Poweshiek counties from the rest of the State. The portion south of this line retained the name Iowa Conference, and that to the north was named North Iowa.

Fifteen pastoral charges remained in the old, and sixteen went to the new unit. Division of material resources was easy, since aside from churches and parsonages, property of societies where located, the only assets consisted of a quantity of song books. Liabilities were confined to the unpaid debts of Ashland Seminary totaling \$587.81, the remainder left in excess of the sums received from the sale of the property. To meet this conference debt an assessment of ten cents per member was levied on all circuits on in both conferences.

At this year of separation, with a number of charges not reporting, the Iowa Conference claimed 1253 lay members, three meeting houses valued at \$10,000, \$1,000, and \$600. The North Iowa Conference reported 614 members, with no real estate, although two years later they had two meeting houses worth \$1800, and a parsonage valued at \$600. This represented not a striking advance, yet nonetheless encouraging for a body that organized just twelve years before with seven clergymen and 288 laity, and with not a dollars worth of property.

Both Conferences likewise adopted a Course of Study for Candidates for the Ministry, covering the whole range of Christian doctrine and ethics, ancient and modern Bible, geography, history, logic, rhetoric and various other subjects with which twentieth century theologians might not be overly familiar. The mastery of such an agenda of studies, barring the dead languages, would have put these Nineteenth Century clerics on a par with the alumni of the most advanced church institutions of the day. What, if any, attempt was made to secure application to these studies does not appear on the records.

The time-tried William Patterson became first President of the new North Iowa Conference, just as he had served the old in the same capacity. The southern body

elected A. A. Keran, a recent importation from those Minnesota fields so desirous of incorporation in the Iowa fold.

With respect to the second, the denominational, separation, both Conferences approved the separation of the Northern wings of the Methodist Protestant Church from the Southern slave-holding sections of the Church.

(To Be Continued)

—*The Rev. R. E. Harvey, Des Moines, Iowa, is Conference Historian of the Iowa-Des Moines Conference of The Methodist Church. He has contributed other articles on church history to THE ANNALS OF IOWA.*

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

Preserving War Records The Iowa War Records Commission

A century ago when Charles Lamb, the English essayist, expressed his cordial dislike of a certain well known public figure, his astonished friend asked if he knew the man well. Lamb quickly replied, "No, if I knew him, how could I hate him!"

With equal truth no one who truly knows the history of his nation can help but be strongly attached to it. But one can not love that which he does not know.

What is true of national and world-wide history is likewise true of one's state and local community. One can not love that which he does not know. An understanding and appreciation of community and country—the basis for good citizenship—rests upon a knowledge and acquaintanceship of that area and its people. Thus the importance of history.

But history must be based upon records, and facts. Otherwise "understanding" and "knowledge" are but as ropes of sand.

If it is so desirable to know the general course of a nation's, a community's history, how much more desirable and important it is to know of the crises in its life. We are in one such period now.

This is one of the gravest, if not the gravest hour, in the history of the United States of America. This crisis is reflected in each state of the Union, in each county, and in each local community, city, town, or village. No one can, a generation hence, understand the world or the nation, or the smaller community of state or town, without an understanding of the causes, course, and consequence of the events of this war. The records of these days of preparation and battle are, therefore, historic. Consequently, if we are to avoid in the years to come the hazy thinking, the vague understanding, the inaccurate appreciation, and safeguard ourselves from the dangers of demagogery and the tragedies of a misunderstanding of

the forces unleashed during these present days, the FACTS must be preserved.

Twenty-five years ago comparatively little was done in Iowa cities and towns to preserve a complete record of the first World War. In many cases this neglect is irreparable.

To prevent a similar calamity occurring during the present war there is being planned an Iowa War Records Commission, whose function will be to stimulate and foster the care and preservation of the records of World War II in the State of Iowa. Sponsored by the Iowa Department of History and Archives, the Commission's aim will be to aid each community, and the state as a whole, to select and preserve the significant records of its participation in and contribution to the war.

This will be accomplished through aid and cooperation between those war agencies whose records are sought, and those organizations capable of preserving and caring for those records once created and selected.

Four classes of "war agencies" are obvious objects of the attention of the Commission: volunteer organizations, the "Bundles" groups, the USO, fraternal and social lodges; trade and professional organizations, business and mercantile interests, labor and farm groups; state and local government units, such as mayors' committees, town defense groups, and the Iowa State agencies such as the Iowa Industrial and Defense Commission, the Iowa Home Guards, etc.; and fourthly, federal agencies such as the War Production Board offices, and the Office of Price Administration, Selective Service, the military recruitment offices, and others.

Organizations who will be asked to cooperate in arranging for the preservation of the records of agencies in the four classifications above will be public and college libraries, local historical societies, newspaper news and editorial rooms, certain business and patriotic organizations. Through their help the vital records of the war and Iowa's local communities should be saved. If this is well done then records of the war and the State of Iowa as a whole will also be saved.

The personnel and details of the program and organization of the Iowa War Records Commission will be announced the first of the fall. Suggestions and helps to all groups and all cooperating agencies will be prepared and distributed as soon as possible after the formation of the Commission. In the meantime, let every county in Iowa, let every town and village in the state, plan now to preserve all the information possible regarding its contributions to the progress of World War II.

We firmly believe that if this crisis is worthy of our sacrifice, if this war is worthy of our lives, it is worthy of a record. Let us make it possible for the generations to come to know and to cherish their history! K. E. C.

AN ALDRICH INCIDENT

Many letters of commendation and appreciation have been received regarding the brief story of the origin and development of the Iowa Historical Department in THE ANNALS OF IOWA for April. This was prepared, quite as much as for anything else, to get together in one story the narrative of the making of the Department and at a time when the events have not yet faded from memory. A letter from Mr. L. L. Bingham, formerly of Estherville and member of the Iowa General Assembly, comes from Los Angeles saying:

"Iowans at home or sojourning elsewhere are indebted to you and your associations for the faithfully fine work you are doing in the interest of us and the generations of Iowans yet to be."

The *Daily Freeman-Journal*, of Webster City, republished a large part of the article, especially as it told the story of the struggles of Charles Aldrich, and W. F. Hunter, the editor, added the following note as an interesting incident:

"Mr. Aldrich told us of the experience he had in getting the autograph of Gen. W. T. Sherman. He forwarded a letter to the general asking his signature to place in the Historical Department of Iowa. The general was a crusty old fellow and replied saying 'I have no time to waste on cranks and publicity seekers.' That of course, riled Aldrich, who was very sensitive and easily offended, and he wrote Sherman that if he failed to send his autograph, as requested, the gingery letter of the general would be preserved in the archives of the State of Iowa. Well, the old general cooled off, and sent the desired autograph."

Departmental Notes

WITH THE CURTAILMENTS in WPA appropriations the first of June, and the shift of all remaining workers from previously assigned jobs to work related directly to war efforts, many long standing projects sponsored by the Department, or using the facilities of the Department, were discontinued. Others had ceased operations prior to that date. The project with the longest record of operation in the Historical Building was the Iowa Writers Project, which with from five to twenty workers, had used the newspaper collections of the Department extensively for over seven years. Another project to close was at work calandering and indexing the larger collections of private papers in the Manuscript Division. Likewise ended was a small project tracing the evolution of state agencies, bureaus, commissions and departments from the territorial years to date for use in the Public Archives Division. Still another useful project was a book mending and repair unit which for four years was of great assistance to the starving Historical Library. Two sign-card writers and illustrators were also lost, as was a project of six at work alphabetising the 1915 census cards in the Public Archives Division.

BY ARRANGEMENT with the Iowa Writers Project director, Mr. Chester E. Billings, the research records and data compiled by that Project were received by the Manuscript Division for custody. These records, covering seven years of work, filed in large legal sized carton boxes, have already been indexed and arranged by the workers on the Project.

The Manuscript Division has also received during the past quarter a fine Civil War letter from Mrs. Jay Thorpe of Onawa, Iowa, written by a soldier of the Southern forces to a Northern acquaintance in the heat of a splendid fury. Other interesting letters of the Ante-Bellum days and of the war as well were received from Miss Mary Eddy, of Perryville, Ohio, letters of her Uncle, Capt. John Coulter, and others.

Photostats of early circus records and of the Western Stage Company were among other records obtained by the Manuscript Division.

APPROXIMATELY 400 photographs were received from the Iowa WPA Art Project showing progress and developments on many construction and work projects by the WPA; many selected subjects from the Iowa WPA Art Project's contribution to the Index of American Design were also acquired from that project.

THE DEMAND for certifications of census records by those seeking birth records has remained relatively stable during the past quarter. Certifications for the three months, not including inquiries for records not found, ran: 880,100,832.

The appointment of Mr. Ralph Young as Assistant Curator and Superintendent of the Public Archives was announced the middle of May by the Board of Trustees of the Department. Mr. Young succeeds the late Fred L. Mahannah who died October 12, 1941. Familiar with state government operations from long experience, Mr. Young brings to a herculean task a full knowledge of the problems involved.

THE MUSEUM DIVISION acquired a hand drawn fire cart No. 1 used by the Iowa State College in its first years. This was the gift of Mr. Harold Knight of Ames, Iowa. From Mrs. F. E. Spaulding, Des Moines, the museum received an Indian drum and two Indian vases.

The Director of the Museum Division, Jack W. Musgrove, and his assistant, Maynard F. Reece, are at work preparing an illustrated field book on Iowa water fowl based upon records accumulated by this Department and other sources for the State of Iowa.

June 14, Kenneth E. Colton, Director of the Manuscript Division and Assistant Editor of THE ANNALS OF IOWA, spoke before the Tama County Historical Society meeting at Tama, Iowa, on "Acres of Diamonds—Local History." The Tama County Historical Society at latest report is nearing the 500 mark in paid in memberships, a record worthy of imitation by other county societies in the state.

Notable Deaths

GLENN C. HAYNES, war veteran and state official, died June 6, 1942, in the warden's quarters at Fort Madison, Iowa. Born August 25, 1876, in Centerville, Iowa, he attended the public schools of that town. Assistant Postmaster of Centerville and Mount Vernon, he entered upon his military career in 1892 when he joined the Iowa National Guard, beginning an almost continuous period of forty-five years with state and federal services. A veteran of the Spanish American War, although he failed to see foreign service, Mr. Haynes went to France with the 168th Infantry of the Iowa National Guard, rising to the rank of Major before returning from Europe in 1919 with a Distinguished Service Cross and the Croix de Guerre with gilt star. Active in veterans affairs, he served as commander of the Iowa Department of the American Legion, 1929-1930. At the time he was placed on the retired list in 1936 he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General of the Line, Iowa National Guard.

Upon his return from France Mr. Haynes engaged in private business until his election as state auditor in 1921 and again in 1923. An unsuccessful candidate for Republican nomination for Governor in 1924, he shortly became Secretary of the Iowa Good Roads Association, which position he held until 1933. In 1933 he was appointed warden of the Iowa State Penitentiary at Fort Madison, which position he held at the time of his death.

GEORGE HEINEMAN, for many years the leader and outstanding member of the Communistic Society known as the Amana society, died March 16th, 1942, in South Amana the last of a large family. He was born in Marienburg near Stuttgart, Germany, January 1, 1844. The family emigrated to America in the spring of 1846 locating in the newly established colony known as Ebenezer near Buffalo, New York. He obtained a good English education and learned the trade of a jeweler as a young man. His family removed to the newly established colony in Iowa County in the Fifties but he did not come to join them until 1864 when he entered the store at South Amana as an assistant to his father who was the manager. On the death of his father, he became sole manager and very active in the interests of the financial affairs of the organization and frequently went to Chicago and made large purchases and became an intimate friend of Marshall Field. Mr. Heineman was president of the organization from 1911 to 1931 and was an adviser in all financial matters and a real active and outstanding director of most of its affairs. He was also one of the trustees in charge of the religious matters and frequently spoke in their meetings for worship.

He opposed the reorganization but submitted without complaint to the majority vote as cast and after the reorganization withdrew

from any active duties and devoted himself largely to the religious affairs of the community. He was a very far-seeing, fair and conservative person who had read much and understood the Communistic theories of Communism better than most any other of its members and his suggestions and views were generally followed. He was a friend of many of the early settlers and sold merchandise to them on time and helped them with advances of money and used to tell that he never had his judgment misplaced and that they all paid up in time. His memory will be long remembered by the members and others who learned to know his kindness, his helpfulness and good-will towards everyone with whom he came in contact.

B. L. WICK

CHARLES ROLLIN KEYES, geologist, died in Tucson, Arizona, May 18, 1942. The son of Calvin W. and Julia Davis Keyes, pioneer family of Des Moines, Charles R. was educated in the Des Moines public schools, and was graduated from the State University of Iowa. His doctor of philosophy degree was received from John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland.

A prolific writer on geological subjects, Dr. Keyes had a long and distinguished record in his chosen field. Prior to 1900 he was successively assistant in the United States Geological Survey, Missouri palaentologist, assistant Iowa State Geologist, then Director of the Missouri Geological Survey. From 1902-1906 he was President of the New Mexico School of Mines. He also established and organized the geological survey of Iowa, of which 30 volumes have been published to date describing the natural resources of this state. He was a member of the American Institute of Mining Engineers, the Mining and Metallurgical Society of America, the Iowa Academy of Science, and the St. Louis Academy of Science as well as others. Dr. Keyes was editor of the *Pan-American Geologist* since 1922.

A member of the Democratic Party, Dr. Keyes was his party's nominee for the United States Senate in 1918. He was familiar with most of the personalities, state and national, of his party.

DR. CHARLES LEMUEL MARSTON, physician, died at his home in Mason City, June 25, 1942. Dr. Marston was born February 6, 1870, at Seward, Illinois, of old American stock. His first American ancestor came to this country in 1832, his father, George W. Marston, a pioneer in the middle-west, came from Vermont before the Civil War and served with Illinois troops in that war. His mother, Sarah Scott Marston, was a Pennsylvanian.

Educated in the high school of Rockford, Illinois, Dr. Marston received his medical education at Rush Medical College, from which he was graduated in 1893. He came of a family of doctors. A grandfather, Dr. Amos Scott, was a surgeon in the Civil War, and

an uncle, Dr. Charles Scott, of Belvidere, Illinois, was also a physician.

Dr. Marston and his wife arrived in Mason City on April 6, 1893, in a snowstorm and since that time in storm and sun he carried on the best tradition of American medicine. Some years ago his record showed that he had brought into this world more than 5,000 children, and it was with great pride that he said he had lost but five mothers during that time.

His patients all over Cerro Gordo County will remember well the brown team which he drove making his calls in winter and summer, and how that team was so well trained that it needed no guidance when the Doctor returned late at night from some call. His experiences, those of every pioneer doctor—frozen hands, face, and feet—were a part of every winter and the perils and suffering which he underwent justify the love his patients had for him.

Shortly after the outbreak of the first World War, he joined the Army of the United States, in August, 1917, being commissioned a captain. Training at Ft. Oglethorpe, Georgia, he was commissioned a major before going overseas in July, 1918.

Shortly after his return from the World War in May, 1919, he was invited to become a Fellow in the American College of Surgeons, being sponsored by Dr. Will Mayo of Rochester, Minn., and Dr. Charles Oeschner, of Chicago, Illinois.

Dr. Marston was also a member of the American Medical Association, the Iowa State Medical Society, and the Cerro Gordo County Medical Society, of which he was a former president. He was one of the sponsors of the Story Hospital of Mason City.

Dr. Marston was a charter member of the Clausen-Worden Post of the American Legion, and one of the organizers of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Mason City. He was for many years active in the First Regular Baptist Church of his city, a member of the board of trustees. He was also an active member of the Masonic orders.

He served his county in the 32nd, 32nd Extra, and the 33rd sessions of the Iowa State General Assembly, 1907-1911.

REMELY J. GLASS

J. W. JOHNSON, teacher and editor, a lifetime resident of Iowa, died at Coral Gables, Florida, June 18, 1942, aged 93. Mr. Johnson taught school in Mahaska County for 20 years and was county superintendent of schools. He engaged in newspaper work in Colfax, Knoxville and Oskaloosa. At the age of 76 he received a B. A. degree from Penn college after a course of study long deferred. He was a vigorous writer.

O. W.

JULIA ALMIRA ROBINSON, librarian, died May 19, 1942, in Ontario,

California. The daughter of Wilbur E. and Almina N. Robinson, she was born in Dubuque, Iowa. Following a year in the Carnegie-Stout Library of Dubuque, she attended the Wisconsin Library School, from which she was graduated in 1909. Two years spent as secretary to the North Dakota Library Commission and the Kentucky Library Commission was followed by a year as supervisor of the Iowa state institutional libraries under the Iowa State Board of Control, 1912-1913. In 1913 she was elected Secretary of the Iowa Library Commission, in which position she continued until September, 1938, when she retired after twenty-five years of service.

A frequent contributor of published articles on her profession, Miss Robinson was likewise noted for her hobby of dolls and literature surrounding them.

MARY MORTON ROSEMOND, for 35 years with the State library, died at her home in Des Moines, November 8, 1941. Miss Rosemond, the daughter of Capt. Wm. E. Rosemond, was born in Washington, Ohio, graduated from the high school in Independence, Iowa, and attended the State University of Iowa in preparation for her chosen career in library work. She came to the State library in 1899 and her service covered the administrations of seven governors. She had charge of, and built up, the library of economics and sociology and reference department, which she made of great value to legislators and students of politics. At the time she was stricken she was doing a good work in the State Department of History and Archives. Her keen insight into the needs of library patrons and especially her deep interest in the affairs of the State, were much appreciated by state officials and many others. She was active in the Iowa Federation of Women's clubs, the Des Moines Community Drama association, and many other activities of the women of Iowa. Her quiet patience and sincere devotion to her work gained for her many warm friends.

O. W.

STANLEY R. SMITH, legislator and business man, died June 9, 1942, in Osage, Iowa, aged 61. He was actively engaged in the lumber trade all his life, and was the head of an extensive chain of lumber yards established by his father, in association with other sons. He was mayor of Osage, 1921-23, and while living at Tripoli was elected to the 37th General Assembly in 1917. He was at one time treasurer of the Republican state committee. He was a graduate of the State University of Iowa. The father, James A. Smith, who founded the lumber business in 1877, also served a number of years with distinction in the State senate.

O. W.

